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# *THE INDEPENDENCE OF THE HOLY SEE.*

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CARDINAL MANNING.

With an Appendix,

CONTAINING THE PAPAL ALLOCUTION, OF MARCH, 1877,
AND AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION.

HENRY S. KING & CO., LONDON.
1877.

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# PREFACE.

UNTIL the last years of Lord Palmerston's life, English statesmen had a higher and juster judgment of what is now called the Roman Question. They saw its bearing upon the order, civilization, and Christianity of Europe. The European Powers, in 1812 and in 1815, were united in restoring Pius VII. to his independence, not only as an act of justice, but as a condition of international peace.

Such was the conviction of the leaders of what is called the Liberal party in 1849.

They shall speak for themselves.

Lord Ellenborough, on June 12th, 1849, said, in the House of Lords: "It was quite true England was not a Catholic State, and might not, therefore, feel that personal interest in the position of the Pope which was felt by

Catholic Powers: but we had eight millions of Roman Catholic subjects, and it was as much an object of interest to us, as it would be to any one of the Catholic Powers of Europe, that the Pope should be in a position of independence; that he should not be so situated as to be dependent upon the bounty, or upon the power of any one, or of any combination of the Powers of Europe. That was surely of as deep an interest to us as it would be to either Austria or Naples. The question was, not whether the Pope, as Sovereign of Rome, should or should not reside or rule there: but whether the person who happened to be at the head of the Roman Catholic Religion should maintain a position of independence; and that appeared to him to be a matter of the deepest importance."

Lord Lansdowne said:—"He did not say that they had no interest of a political character; on the contrary, he said that in his (the Pope's) political character they had a great interest. In that view he would repeat what he had said before—that the Government

were most anxious that the Pope should be restored to Rome. He had before said, the British Government felt that it was placed in a situation quite distinct from that of the other powers as to the restoration of the Pope. He alluded of course to the religious ties which bound those Powers to the Sovereign Pontiff and which did not bind us. But, nevertheless, the British Government had not seen with indifference the events which had expelled the Pope from his temporal dominions: but they had always been, and still were, ready to offer such suggestions as might be useful for the purpose of restoring by negotiation the power and authority of the Pope in Rome." *

Lord Brougham, on July 20th, 1849, in moving certain Resolutions on Foreign Policy, said: "And here let me say a word which may not be popular in some quarters . . . . upon the separation of the temporal and spiritual authority of the Pope. My opinion is, that it will not do to say the Pope is all very well as

* Hansard, Vol. cvi., p. 9.

a spiritual prince, but we ought not to restore his temporal power. That is a short-sighted and, I think, a somewhat superficial view of the case. I do not believe it possible that the Pope could exercise beneficially his spiritual functions if he had no temporal power. For what would be the consequence? He would be stripped of all his authority. We are not now in the 8th century, when the Pope contrived to exist without much secular authority, or when, as Bishop of Rome, he exercised very extensive spiritual authority without corresponding temporal power. The progress of the one, however, went along with that of the other; and just as the Pope had extended his temporal dominions by encroachments and by gifts, like those of Pepin and Charlemagne . . . . just in proportion as his temporal authority increased, did he attain so overwhelming influence over the Councils of Europe. His temporal force increased his spiritual authority, because it made him more independent. Stripped of that secular domi-

nion he would then become the slave now of one Power—then of another—one day the slave of Spain, another of Austria, another of France, or, worst of all, as the Pope has recently been, the slave of his own factious and rebellious subjects. His temporal power is an European question, not a local or a religious one, and the Pope's authority should be maintained for the sake of the peace and the interests of Europe. We ourselves have 7,000,000 of Roman Catholic subjects . . . . and how is it possible to suppose that, unless the Pope has enough temporal authority to keep him independent of the other European Courts, jealousies and intrigues will not arise which must reduce him to a state of dependency . . . . and so enable any one country wielding the enormous influence of his spiritual authority to foster intrigues, factions, and rebellion in the dominion of her rivals." *

Lord Lansdowne answered as follows:—"He had no hesitation in stating that he quite

* Hansard, Vol. cvii., p. 627.

agreed in the views of his noble and learned friend on the subject; but he assured him they were by no means peculiar, inasmuch as they were precisely those laid down in Lord Palmerston's despatch to Lord Normanby, where he distinctly declared that the Sovereignty of the Pope was something quite peculiar, and having a relation with all the Roman Catholic States of the world, quite different from that of any other authority. The condition of the Pope's Sovereignty was quite peculiar. As a Temporal Sovereign the Pope was of a fourth or fifth rate order: as a Spiritual Sovereign he was not only of the first honour, but enjoyed a Sovereignty unparalleled in the world, being capable of exercising over, not one, but every country in Europe an authority and an influence with which nothing could compare. There was, therefore, in respect of other States, a ground for interfering and maintaining his authority, which did not exist in any other case; and being a sort of compound interest, the necessity was imposed on the

Catholic Powers of watching, in order to see that the joint object of preserving the spiritual head of their religion was not made the means of promoting temporal ambition. But when he said that, he was not prepared to say, that we, as a Protestant State, had not to a certain extent, a similar interest: there was not a country with Catholic subjects, and Catholic possessions, which had not a deep interest in the Pope being so placed as to be able to exercise his authority unfettered and unshackled by any temporal influence which might affect his Spiritual authority." *

Lord Palmerston's Despatch to Lord Normanby was, in substance, as follows: that it is without doubt to be desired that a person, who in his spiritual character exercises vast influence in the internal affairs of the greater part of the nations of Europe, should be so independent as not to become, in the hands of any European power whatsoever, a means of embarrassing others.

* Hansard, Vol. cvii., p. 707.

Such were the principles of English statesmen until certain of them began to meddle in the Italian Revolution. I was eye-witness of the use that was made of the names of these personages, and I am sorry to say of England, in Rome, Naples, and Florence, in the year 1848.

From that day to this the pretensions of the Italian Revolution have been mistaken for the will of the people of Italy: and men who abhor infidelity and sedition have lent their names and influence to an antichristian conspiracy. Mazzini spent his life in propagating a programme subversive of Christianity and of monarchy. His autobiography will show that the monarchy of Sardinia has been used as a mask and a tool to hide and to create throughout Italy an antichristian Republic. So far as man can do, the Temporal Power of the Papacy seems overthrown. The next to fall is the Italian kingdom. No one can have watched the course of Italian Governments without noting the steady advance of the Mazzinian

revolution in the successive ministries of Italy. From Cavour to Ratazzi, from Ratazzi to Ricasoli, from Ricasoli to Minghetti, from Minghetti to Depretis, the antichristian and antimonarchical revolution has revealed itself in every successive change.

The present Chamber, elected by less than a hundredth part of the Catholic Italian people, represents the Revolution, and nothing but the Revolution. The Catholic electors refuse to vote: less than two hundred and fifty thousand elect the Parliament, which Englishmen believe to represent the 26,000,000 of Italy. The whole Chamber is revolutionary, both Right and Left alike. And the Left are now in power. The present legislation against the Clergy is not the work of the 26,000,000 of Italians, nor even of the 250,000, but only of a majority of those who go to the ballot-box. Revolutions are always the work of minorities. I have been asked why 26,000,000 of men passively submit to such legislation if they do not assent to it. The answer to

that question is the following pages. It is enough to say here that the Italian people have no unity of race, and therefore no unity of mind or will, no political organization, no political education, no traditional experience of public life, no real liberty of association or action. A Catholic Congress was dispersed the other day at Bologna. The army is in the hands of the Monarchy; and the Monarchy is in the hands of the minority, which has used the *Spada d'Italia* for the working out of the Republic of Mazzini.

On the 8th of September, 1870, King Victor Emmanuel wrote his well-known letter to Pius IX., announcing his intention to seize upon Rome by force. In that letter are these words: "A tempest full of peril is threatening Europe. Under the cover of the war, which is desolating the centre of the continent, the party of the Cosmopolitan Revolution is increasing its hardihood and audacity, and is preparing, especially in the provinces governed by your Holiness, to give the last blows to the

Monarchy and to the Papacy."* These words were written as a pretext. They read like a prophecy. This is repeated by Pius IX. in his Allocution: "Already the spirit of disturbance and disorder threatens, like a torrent, to carry everything before it, and not a few of the authors or promoters of the Revolution look back with terror on the effects of their work." Every friend of Italy will pray that this terrible future may be averted, but the Revolution seems to have linked itself to a destiny, and destiny, like Nemesis, is inevitable. All I hope is, that English statesmen will not lend a hand to foster a work of anarchy: and that they will take as much diligent care to know accurately what they are doing in the Roman Question as they are wont to use in their public duties towards our own country. They must go deeper for their knowledge than the letters of Newspaper Correspondents, and leading articles inspired, if not written, by hands that have been united in the conspiracies of

* Samwer, Recueil des Traités, Vol. v., p. 33.

Mazzini. Englishmen have hitherto sympathized with events in Italy, believing them to be the work of the Italian people. When they come to see that they have been the work of a minority which declares itself every day more and more visibly in its antichristian and republican colours as the lineal and legitimate offspring of the French Directory, they will revert to the broader and deeper political wisdom of our earlier statesmen, and will desire to see the great Italian people deliver itself from the yoke of a minority which has broken from the Christian traditions of Italy and takes its inspirations from the Falck Laws and the Government of Berlin.

Since the following pages were sent to press, the Mancini Law, described in the third chapter, has been rejected by the Italian Senate by a majority of 105 against 92. This fact is, no doubt, of importance, as showing that there still exists, even in the party of the Revolution, a strong conservative and Catholic instinct

which will keep alive and sustain the same spirit throughout Italy. But this fact has no great legislative importance, because all that the Mancini Laws against the clergy would have accomplished may still be effected when the *Codice Penale* comes into discussion. But more than this, the Italian Government has announced its plan of hostility to the Church and to Christianity in Italy. The *Diritto* is believed to be the Government organ at this time; it represents also the inspirations from Berlin. In its number of May 10th it gives some passages of the speech of the President of the Council, S. Depretis, with comments of its own. They are too much to our purpose to be passed over. S. Depretis, addressing his constituents at Stradella, spoke as follows:—"Italy of to-day, if it has not indeed written an immortal book, has certainly written an Immortal Decree: that is, the suppression of political clericalism, *the liberation of civil Christianity, the emancipation of religious thought, and the free worship of humanity.*"

"But that this may be and may remain a grand chapter in the history of the world, it is necessary to complete the two periods that remain suspended, the one which regards *the temporal possessions of the Ecclesiastical Society*, and that which regards *the recognition of Spiritual jurisdictions in their social effects.*" And he promised on these subjects "two projects of law which will complete and correct *the Chapter of the Guarantees.*"

"The law on the Abuses of the Clergy has been defeated, but the Ministry have no lack of reasons by which to provoke a new Parliamentary vote, whereby the country will not be left under the grave anxiety in respect to such a victory as was gained the day before last *by our adversaries in the Senate.*"

"We cannot stop here. The law of the Guarantees acknowledges one Vatican only. A profound reform therefore is needed of *the Vaticans of Instruction*, that is, of the *Seminaries.*"

And here we have an open confession that

the Depretis government is dependent for its ideas, if not for its existence, on Berlin.

"We have," he says, "inverted the parts" (*i.e.* with the German Falck Laws); "we have abolished the faculties of Theology while we have left the Seminaries under the exclusive power of the Roman Curia. *Friedberg*, in praising the opposite system, which prevails in the legislature of Baden and Wurtemberg, is of opinion, that in a good system of the relations of Church and State, the State ought to maintain the faculties of Theology, but at the same time *it ought to abolish the Seminaries of the Bishops.*"

After promising a law for the preservation and administration of the ecclesiastical property of the kingdom—that is, its secularization—he goes on to say:—

"The Moderate Party gave to the Church the law of the Guarantees: the State likewise is waiting to obtain its law of Guarantees, and it shall have it from the Depretis Government.

"We accept the defiance of the Vatican:

we accept it in the name of our rights, and of the *liberal interests of Europe.*"* The Liberals of Europe were such men as Lord Lansdowne; they are now Gambetta in France, Falck in Prussia, Depretis and Mancini in Italy, and those who are in sympathy and solidarity with them in England. Their avowed object is to overthrow the Vatican, their true aim is to overthrow revelation, and to "*emancipate religious thought, and the free worship of humanity.*" By the former phrase is meant Rationalism, by the latter the Atheism of Comte, or "la réhabilitation de la chair" of the French infidelity.

By the thirteenth article of the Law of Guarantees the Seminaries are expressly exempted. In truth the Guarantees guarantee nothing. Pius IX. says in the Allocution, "Now, indeed, the world may clearly see the value and sincerity of the concessions or guarantees by which our enemies pretended to guard the liberty and dignity of the Roman Pontiff:

* Reported in the *Voce della Verità*, May 12, 1877.

guarantees which rest on no other foundation than the arbitrary and hostile will of a government in whose power it is to apply them, to interpret them, and to carry them into effect as it may choose, and solely for its own purposes and interests. In no way certainly does the Roman Pontiff possess, nor can he ever possess, full liberty or exercise his full authority, as long as he is subjected to others ruling in his City."

The speech of S. Depretis is a covert declaration of war by the revolution against the Senate and the Monarchy. *Viderint ipsi.*

It is also an open declaration of war, and we accept it without fear. The plan of the campaign is to undermine the faith of Italy by education without Christianity, to destroy the Catholic religion, the Catholic Church, and the Christian life of Italians. This is the aim of the Antichristian Revolution in all countries. The blasphemous laughter of the Left in the French Chamber, at the Name of our Divine Redeemer, is evidence nearer home. The la-

bour of certain men to exclude Christianity from our English schools is evidence at our doors. And as this is the common cause of the Antichristian Revolution in all countries, so the liberty and protection of the Head of the Christian Church ought to be the common cause of all Christians everywhere. Christian England has a vital interest in the independence of Christianity. The siege is laid against the Holy See because men hope that if the Shepherd be smitten the sheep will be scattered. Pius IX. is protecting by his inflexible fortitude and fearless voice the Christianity of the whole world. And the Christians of all nations are on their trial whether they will be on the side of Christ or of His conscious or unconscious adversaries. We accept the conflict, trusting in the power of moral right, and in the "victory that overcometh the world, our faith."

MAY 15, 1877.

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# THE INDEPENDENCE OF THE HOLY SEE.

## I.

### THE TEMPORAL SOVEREIGNTY OF THE POPE A DIVINE ORDINANCE.

THE Allocution addressed to the Sacred College on the 12th of March last, treats of matter so vital to the whole Church, and to the faith of Christians in every region of the world, that I cannot regret the necessity which is laid upon me to speak upon it. All Christians believe that when our Lord sent out His Apostles, He gave to them a supreme spiritual power to govern the Church. Catholics further believe that He had already given that power in its fulness to Peter, their head and chief, the foundation of His Church; and, after He ascended into Heaven, His Vicar upon earth. We believe also that this Divine power exists in the world at this moment. It exists in the office of Peter, perpetuated in the person

of his successor. In this we have the whole outline of the Allocution before us.

The successor of Peter in this Allocution has declared in clear and energetic words, and in the hearing of all the nations of Christendom, that this supreme office, entrusted to him by a Divine commission, is, at this moment, violated by the usurpation of men, by the injustice of those who have despoiled the Holy See of the sovereignty which the Providence of God has bestowed upon it, and by the insidious attempt now made still further to bind its supreme authority by human and penal legislation. The Roman question, therefore, is not a merely political question. It involves the liberties of the whole Church, and the free exercise of the authority of its Head. If it touches upon the political sphere, or upon political facts, it is only because we cannot separate either religion from morals, or morals from politics.

My purpose then will be to make clear the four following points: First, What is the sovereignty or independence, or temporal power, if men like so to call it, with which God in His Providence has invested the Head of His Church upon earth. Secondly, What is the violation of that independence and sovereignty by the acts of violence which have been perpetrated in the

last seven years. Thirdly, What have been and what must be the consequences of that violation. And, lastly, What is, therefore, the duty of every Catholic throughout the world. And I will go further: I will say, What is the duty of every Christian who believes that the Word of God is supreme over all human law, and that the authority of the Christian Church on earth is independent of all civil government. And in this I shall appeal to the multitudes of upright Christian hearts in these three kingdoms, who, though they be separated from us by, I am sorry to say, many points of faith, by more, I fear, than points, by many wide distances, which I would fain see closed up, nevertheless do openly, manfully, and justly defend the liberty of the truth and of the Church of God in the sense in which they understand it.

This sovereignty I cannot better explain than in these two sentences—It is the dependence of the Head of the Church upon God alone; and his consequent independence of any human authority. These two sentences include the whole subject. Now, we often hear it said, and I have heard it said within these last days, that "in the beginning the Head of the Church, or the Bishop of Rome, as men call him, had

no temporal power. Why should he have now what he had not then?" Secondly, they say, "He was subject to the Roman Emperors then; why can he not be subject to any civil power now?" Thirdly, they ask, "If it had been the will of God to give him a sovereignty of his own, He would have done so; but, if He did, as you affirm, then He has taken it away." Now, these are three common objections. There is a fourth, indeed, which I may mention in passing only to dismiss it. They say, "If the temporal power be essential to the spiritual, how was it that for so many centuries the Popes exercised their spiritual power without it?" Now it must be confessed that we are a little weary of hearing these objections, for this is about the eighteenth year that, both by speaking and by writing, we have repeated over and over again in words as express as we could find, that the temporal power is not necessary to the spiritual power, because the spiritual power stands by its own strength as God has planted it. For centuries it exercised its full sway and authority before, as yet, it was clothed with any temporal prerogative. The temporal power is necessary, not to the spiritual power in itself, but to the free, independent, and peaceful exercise of that spiritual power which had been, nevertheless, fully exercised for many hundred

years through persecution and martyrdom, imprisonment and bonds. I hope, then, that this will clear away, once for all, an error which, with an extraordinary tenacity, seems to cleave to the minds of men, as if they could not apprehend the proposition that the temporal power is not necessary to the spiritual, but is necessary to the free, independent, and peaceful exercise of that spiritual power: or, in other words, the spiritual power of the Church can be exercised in two ways—in the fires of persecution if need be, and in the peace of the Church if it may. In order to make this subject clear, let us distinguish the three periods in which the head of the Christian Church has exercised his office.

The first period was one of persecution; the second period was one of liberation from all civil sovereignty, at first partial, and finally complete; the third period was one in which the Pontiff was, first, partially invested with temporal power, and, finally, completely invested with the sovereignty which for a thousand years he possessed until the other day.

1. Now, of the first period. In the first three hundred years there were thirty Roman pontiffs, of whom it is said in history that nine-and-twenty died by martyrdom, that is, they exercised their supreme

power in Rome, in the face of a pagan Empire, and with inflexible fortitude they laid down their lives in succession for a testimony of the Faith. Throughout the whole of that time they wielded the full and complete primacy of S. Peter in all its spiritual prerogatives of faith and jurisdiction over the whole flock on earth. Every part and particle of that primacy is exercised by Pius IX. at this day. People ask, "Why was there at that time no vestige of temporal power?" For this reason, there was then no Christian world. There was only a pagan world; and in that pagan world all that they could do was to preach the Gospel of Jesus Christ and to suffer for it. In the midst of the heathen empire of Rome the Christians obeyed in all lawful things, and the head of the Church himself never contested any point whatsoever of the public law except in that which was contrary to the law of God. Why, then, were they martyred? They were called upon to sacrifice to the heathen gods, and they refused. They were called upon to burn incense upon the altar of an idol, and they refused. For this they were tortured, or they were cast into the Tiber. By the Imperial law no society could exist except a society incorporated by the laws of the Empire. Now, the Christian Church is a perfect society complete in itself,

incorporated by its Divine Head. It existed in the heart of that heathen empire in despite of all prohibitory law. It broke through the Imperial law by the very fact of its existence. It was an illicit society. Secondly, by the Imperial law it was forbidden that any religion, or any worship, should be practised except the religions and the worships recognised by the Imperial authority. The worship of every heathen deity, and of every nation that Rome had conquered—these were all recognised by the Roman law; there was but one worship forbidden, one worship not known to the law, and that was the worship of the only true God. The Christians, therefore, practised what was called an illicit religion, in spite of the law, in defiance of the law, and laid down their lives for disobedience to the Imperial will. Thirdly, the Imperial law forbade that any society, even if the society were lawful, should possess property or goods without the sanction or faculty of the Imperial law. The faithful sold their lands and houses and laid the price of them at the Apostles' feet. The Apostles possessed the property, which was devoted to the service of the Church, and held it by a higher right than that of any Imperial law, that is, by a Divine right; for that which was given to the Church was given to God and belonged to it by this higher title

and by a more indefeasible possession than that of any human law. We find, therefore, that this spiritual authority of the Church from the beginning was exercised in its full extent during the times of persecution, and in the face of the prohibitions of the Imperial law, and of the hostile might of the Empire. This, then, was the first period. It may be said, "There is no sign of temporal power thus far." Certainly not. What temporal power could the head of the Christian Church exercise in a world which did not believe the Incarnation of Jesus Christ? What temporal power could exist in a period when the world did not believe even in the spiritual power of the Church itself? Surely they who make this objection must be hard driven.

2. The Church then entered into a second period —the period in which the head of the Church was liberated from all subjection or obedience to any civil authority. The Roman Empire, which had spread itself far into the East, had Byzantium—the modern Constantinople—as its second chief seat of Imperial power. The Empire was divided in its administration, so that there were two Emperors in one Empire. The Empire of Rome had a Western and an Eastern division—and there were two Emperors reigning at one and the same

time as colleagues together in one Imperial authority, as two Consuls had governed the Republic of Rome before.

Constantine became Christian while his colleague, Licinius, was still pagan. Maxentius, at the head of a powerful heathen army, barred the way to Rome. Constantine, with his legions, which were full of Christian soldiers, obtained a complete and final victory over the pagan armies of the West. The effect of that victory was decisive. Within a year, he and his colleague, Licinius, united in the decree of Milan, to the effect that the profession and practice of the Christian Faith was free throughout the Empire. From that day Constantine began to legislate in favour of Christianity. First of all, he liberated all bishops, priests, and ecclesiastical persons from civil and military service. Secondly, he exempted them from the payment of the civil taxes. Thirdly, he confirmed the judicial power of the bishops, who had already exercised the office of judges from the earliest times. Once more, he gave to them the power of manumitting or enfranchising slaves. Further, he began to build Christian churches. He then appointed priests to go with the army, and gave them a tent for Divine worship. Beyond this, again, he made laws for

the observance of the Sunday, and many other practices of the Christian religion became laws of the Empire. While this was going on in the West, Licinius, still pagan, in the East, became jealous and fearful lest the authority of Constantine should over-balance his own. He therefore began to persecute the Christians, and to remove them from all offices in the State or about his own person. This ended in a war which may be called distinctly a war of Christians against pagans; in which Constantine completely destroyed the army of Licinius, and Licinius was slain. The effect of this victory was the fall of paganism in the East. Constantine found himself in the city of Rome face to face with a Senate of which a great part was pagan still. The city of Byzantium was new and independent, so that he could fill it with a Christian Court. He made Byzantium Constantinople, giving to it his own name; he created there an Imperial city entirely Christian, with Christian laws, in the place of the old Rome. The Imperial law says that this was done by "the command" or inspiration of God. It was recognised to be an act so pregnant with meaning and with consequence that it could be ascribed to nothing but to a Divine Providence.

From the day when Constantine translated the seat of Empire from the Old Rome to the New, there never resided within the walls of Rome Emperor or King permanently exercising an authority over the Roman Pontiffs. There were delegates, and dukes, and representatives of Constantinople who were shadows of a distant authority; but the one sole, real, governing power from that day onwards, which preserved Rome again and again from destruction, was the unbroken line of the Roman Pontiffs. Let us take an example. S. Leo the Great twice over preserved the City of Rome from sack and ruin. When Attila, "the scourge of God," with his army, menaced Italy and Rome, S. Leo went out, and by his personal moral power prevailed over him and turned him back. Again, when Genseric, in like manner, advanced against Rome, and Rome was in his grasp, S. Leo once more, by the majesty of his presence and by his Apostolic authority, prevailed on him to leave the Holy City untouched. It was not the Emperors of Constantinople, it was not the legions of the Empire that preserved Rome from the ravage of the hordes that came down upon Italy. The Heruli, the Goths, the Visigoths, the Huns, and the Lombards poured over Italy, and again and again surrounded Rome, and Rome was protected and

saved from age to age, not by Constantinople, but by the Roman Pontiffs. During this time the authority of Constantinople over the Roman Pontiffs became so shadowy as to be imperceptible. Nevertheless, the Roman Pontiffs never rebelled, never assumed royalty; they followed the example of their Master, who, when He knew "that they were coming to take Him and make Him King, fled into the mountain alone;" they withdrew whenever power was offered to them; they never stretched out a hand to possess themselves of it. S. Leo wrote to the Emperor acknowledging him to be the Sovereign of the Empire. S. Gregory, in like manner, wrote to the Emperor Maurice acknowledging him to be the Emperor wielding the supreme civil power; but in that very letter in which he acknowledged him as such he censured the Imperial law. He told him that his law was at variance with the law of God; that is to say, in the very moment of acknowledging him as Emperor he declared the Imperial law to be null because it was contrary to the law of God. Thus far was a partial liberation from civil power but there was a complete liberation yet to come.

I cannot better illustrate what I mean than by this example. There was a time when Britain was a province of the Roman Empire, but when the last

Roman legion left its shores, Britain fell from the Roman Empire. From that day to this it has been independent. There was a time when the Kings of England claimed to be Kings over a large part of the North of France. Has the Crown of England, or does it claim to have at this day, a right over the North of France? What has extinguished the right of the Roman Empire over Britain? The extinction of the Roman Empire. And what extinguished the right of the Crown of England over the North of France? The extinction of the English power in the North of France. In like manner, the successive invasions of barbaric hordes, and, above all, the invasion of the Lombards, extinguished utterly and destroyed the last vestige of the Roman Empire in Italy: it was utterly swept away, it existed no longer. Where, thenceforward, was the subjection of the Roman Pontiff to an Emperor whose empire had ceased to be? Italy was left, from the Alps to the sea, without a civil master. There was no one to possess, no one to defend it, no one had a right to claim it as his own. There was no one able to exercise the office of protector over that which had once been the seat of empire. But, further, the barbarian hordes acquired no right by their invasion—they were aggressors and usurpers, and their conquest conferred no title of

sovereignty; they were there, occupying provinces not their own, and they executed upon a corrupt empire the just sentence of God. The Roman Empire in Italy was extinguished by the judgment of God, and the throne of Rome was vacant by the visitation of God. And when the last vestige of civil authority had perished, there remained in Rome one sole person, who had been Father, Pastor, Lawgiver, Protector, the Head of the People, to whom they turned as their supreme spiritual authority, around whom they had gathered in all their perils. The line of the Roman Pontiffs alone was left. The Providence of God thus liberated the Head of the Church completely and altogether from any civil authority whatsoever.

3. As S. Leo, in the fifth century, had twice preserved Rome from sack and ruin, so, in the eighth century, Pope Zachary twice preserved Rome from destruction at the hands of the Lombards. When the Greek Emperor Leo became a heretic and a persecutor, he conspired against the life of Pope Sergius. The people of Rome rallied round Sergius and protected him. They then renounced the last remnant of visionary authority and of theoretical submission which bound the Commonwealth of Rome to Constantinople. From that day onwards the Roman Pontiffs remained the sole and only gover-

nors of Rome. And in the years 790, and 799, when Rome was again threatened, first Pepin, and afterwards Charlemagne, was invited to come and protect Rome against the Lombards. With their armies they did so, and they were created Patricians, that is, defenders and protectors of Rome. Charlemagne was then consecrated Emperor.

By that act an Empire was created afresh in the West, but by what authority? By S. Leo III., by the Roman Pontiff. But he who confers authority is not a subject. He did not create a master or a sovereign ruler of Rome, but a protector and defender of the city which had been preserved for centuries by his predecessors and by himself. It was on Christmas Day, in the year 800, that S. Leo III., in the Basilica of S. Peter, consecrated the first Emperor of the West, and from that day to the year 1870 the Roman Pontiffs continued in rightful possession of Rome, and of the supreme civil power over it, not by human donations, but by the Providence of God.

After England had ceased to be a Roman province, after the invasions of Angles, and Jutes, and Danes, and Saxons had rent the country with wars, and civil feuds, it at last grew up into a rightful monarchy, and from nearly the same date

of 800, a thousand years ago, it has continued to be a monarchy never overthrown, never interrupted, except by its own transient intestine contentions; so, in like manner, the sovereignty of the Roman Pontiffs over Rome has continued to run down through the history of Christian Europe. They were assailed again and again by German Emperors, by Counts of the Marches, by factions in Rome, by invaders of every kind and name, for I do not say that their possession has been peaceful; on the contrary, it has been a perpetual warfare, but the line of their sovereignty has never been broken. I know not how many Pontiffs either never set their foot in Rome or were driven out of it; counting from the beginning it would be some five-and-forty. S. Gregory VII., whose name, as Hildebrand, is in the mouth of Englishmen, died in exile. Almost in our own day, Pius VI. died in exile. Pius VII. was carried away and was six years in captivity. Pius IX., in our own memory, was driven into exile, and yet in him was continued the line of the sovereignty of Rome down to the year 1870, or rather is to this day.

Thus far, my object is only to lay a foundation for what I have to say hereafter. Therefore I will not enter into any points by anticipation. Let us fix our thoughts on this one fact,

that the authority which God has given to the head of the Christian Church is made up of two elements. The one element is spiritual, which was *directly* given by our Divine Master Himself to his chief Apostle upon earth; the other is temporal, which was *indirectly* given by Divine Providence, and has been combined with the spiritual authority for a thousand years. We may affirm, therefore, that both come from Divine authority, the one directly and the other indirectly; and we may affirm more, I mean that the sovereignty of Pius IX., given indirectly by Divine Providence, is as full and complete in the devolution of its right as that of our own Sovereign who reigns over us, and that in the direct spiritual authority with which he is invested he exceeds immeasurably any temporal Sovereign that ever reigned on earth. He is equal to them all in the sovereignty given by Divine Providence. He exceeds them all by his spiritual authority of which the temporal sovereignty is but the earthly clothing. Nay, we may go further, and say that when the Christian world came into existence it could not be otherwise. I have already said that it was impossible that the head of the Christian Church should exercise temporal power over a pagan world. Surely the man that makes this objection must be unreasonable, and

he also who asks why there was no temporal authority in the pagan world. It was because there was no man among the pagans who believed that he was the Vicar of Jesus Christ; but when the world had once recognised in the person of the head of the Church on earth the Vicar of the Divine Head of the Church who reigns in Heaven; no man ventured to claim him as a subject. So long as the light of faith governed the nations of the Christian world, no man ever pretended to set up the claim of sovereignty over the head of the Christian Church. The relations in which Christian men and Christian princes stand to the Church, and to its head, rendered such a claim impossible. We shall hereafter have reason to enter into this more fully. It is enough for our purpose at this moment to have drawn out the three periods of which I have spoken: the period of persecution in the pagan world, which gives us no principles, and lays down no precedents for our present subject; the second period, during which there was a progressive liberation of the Head of the Church from civil authority; and the period in which there was a progressive formation of a true sovereignty vested in the person of the Roman Pontiff. From that day to this, for a thousand years, such has been the condition of Christian Europe.

Surely in the Christian world it could not be otherwise; and if the Christian world is still to continue, so it will be; and what is happening now is but one more of those manifold transient perturbations which have come through the period of these thousand years, driving into exile or imprisoning the Pontiffs, or even worse, and usurping the rightful sovereignty of Rome. And as they have passed so will this, unless the political order of the Christian world itself has passed away.

The mission of the Apostles united all nations into one family, so that all national distinctions should be lost in the supernatural unity of the Faith. All nationalities were merged, in so far as faith and religion, in the spiritual jurisdiction of the one Church. All nations were joined together in a fraternal unity under one Chief Head, the common Father, and Teacher, and Pastor of all—the Vicar of Jesus Christ. National Churches did not exist. The separate existence of National Churches, established by law, is a theory and a practice three hundred years old.

S. Paul foretells that, before the end, there shall be a revolt, or *discessio*, as the word is; and that departure would seem to be not only of individuals, one by one, but of nations; that is to say, that the world-wide foundation of the Apostles on which the

nations were consolidated together in one universal society, shall be dissolved, disintegrated, and broken up. What do we see at this moment? Nation after nation has withdrawn itself from the Vicar of Jesus Christ. We see too not only the non-Catholic nations, but the nations of which the great multitude, though not the Governments, are still Catholic, hiding their faces from the head of the Church, and consenting together in an international diplomacy, which deprives him of the providential sovereignty and temporal power on which his independence and his liberty depend. Rome is said now to be an Italian question; the nations now seem to be united at least in a tacit connivance and in closing round about the See of Peter, and consenting that the successor of Peter shall be a Sovereign no longer. If this shall last, if this be permanent, then the political order of the Christian world will be dissolved. But I do not believe the order of the Christian world to be dissolved. I believe that the period of revolution, which began at the end of the last century in reaction from the despotisms that went before it, has, for a time, submerged and carried away the Christian order of Europe; but it will not be for ever. If it were for ever, then I know of nothing to describe that state, except the

words, "We have no King but Cæsar," and "we will not have this man to reign over us." These words were spoken in the rejection of Jesus Himself, and they are now, by implication, spoken of His Vicar upon earth. This, then, is our first point, that the sovereignty of the head of the Church is one which God Himself has created. Pius IX. does not heed it as the possession of territories, or cities, or revenues, much less of royal titles; but he cherishes it, and he knows its full price, as we have seen in his own words, because it is the providential condition for the full exercise, and peaceful liberty, and rightful independence of the supreme spiritual authority committed to him as the Pastor of the whole flock of Jesus Christ on earth.

## II.

### THE TEMPORAL SOVEREIGNTY, A PROVISION FOR THE INDEPENDENCE OF THE SPIRITUAL POWER.

I HAVE hitherto affirmed that the office committed by our Divine Saviour to the head of His Church was a spiritual Primacy, containing a supreme jurisdiction over the whole Church on earth, and that this supreme spiritual jurisdiction in due time was liberated from the dominion of all civil powers. After passing through 300 years of persecution, after being exercised with a heroic constancy even unto death, it was set free from the dominion of any civil superior, first partially, next altogether. The Head of the Christian Church was then invested, first partially, and next altogether, with a true and proper sovereignty, over the city of Rome. This is the sum of what has been hitherto said. Now, I know well that, in making these assertions, I shall seem to many who are not of the unity of the Catholic Church to be speaking parables; nay, more than this, to be reciting fables.

For three hundred years Englishmen have

been born into a state of unconsciousness; nay, more, of conscious unbelief, if not into a state of hostile and perpetual controversy against these truths. Therefore, I am well aware that in affirming these things many will say to themselves, "Surely this cannot be proved by history: this must be a mere imagination and the like." For that reason, before I proceed further, I will refer the reader to some works that are within the reach of all. I will not refer you to any Catholic writer: if I were, it might at once raise a suspicion that the work was biassed, and that it could not be trusted. If anyone desires to consult a Catholic writer, let him read the work of Orsi on the sovereignty of the Pontiff; or, I would refer him to the writings of the present Bishop of Orleans, which have been translated into English. But I will select rather two other works, which may be said not to be the works of Catholics.

The first would be the pernicious and virulent pages of Gibbon, who became an infidel and a bitter enemy, not of the Catholic Church alone, but of Christianity. In "The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire," the facts and the premises that I have used, and all that I require for the proof of my assertion, may be found.

Speaking of Rome, and the Romans in the

eighth century, when, as he says, the sovereignty of the Greek Emperors was extinguished, Gibbon adds: "The want of laws could only be supplied by the influence of religion, and their foreign and domestic counsels were moderated by the authority of the bishop. His alms, his sermons, his correspondence with the kings and prelates of the West, his recent services, their gratitude and oath, accustomed the Romans to consider him as the first magistrate, or Prince of the city. The Christian humility of the Pope was not offended by the name of *Dominus*, or Lord; and their face and inscription are still apparent on the most ancient coins. Their Temporal Dominion is now confirmed by the reverence of a thousand years, and their noblest title is the free choice of a people whom they had redeemed from slavery."—Gibbon, &c., vol. vi., pp. 151, 152. Murray, 1862.

Secondly, I will refer to a work, of which I must say that it is both learned and accurate, written by one who spent two-thirds of his long life in the faithful service of the Church, and for whom I heartily pray that he may not end that long life in the midst of the degradations of the "Old Catholic" heresy—I mean Professor Döllinger, of Munich, a man of whom, as a philosopher and a theologian, we cannot speak with high commendation, but of whom, as

an historian, I am bound to bear the testimony that he was both learned and accurate. In his "Ecclesiastical History" will be found every assertion that I have made, if not contained textually, at least in the premises upon which I have rested.

Professor Döllinger says; "By their (the Byzantine Emperors) perfect inability to guard them (the Romans), and to protect them against the attacks of the Lombards, they had forfeited their claims to those provinces; and over Rome and the Roman Dukedom, the sovereignty of the Pope had been established during the course of the eighth century . . . . The imperial supremacy (of Charlemagne) was naturally extended over the States of the Church, but without any trespass on the authority of the Pontiff. The Pope continued to be what he had been, Lord of Rome, and of the Dukedom, &c. . . . . The Pope was not, therefore, subject to the Emperor; the Romans, indeed, swore to him an oath of fidelity, but they pledged themselves with an express reservation of the fidelity due by them to the Roman Pontiff, their Sovereign."—Döllinger, "History of the Church," vol. iii., pp. 118, 119; see Appendix, 111.

We will now go onward with our subject. The result of what I said in the last chapter is this, that for 1,000 years, dating from the year 800,

the time of S. Leo III. and the creation of the Western Empire in Charlemagne, the Pontiffs have held a true and proper civil sovereignty over the city of Rome, interrupted, harassed, as, indeed, they have been in its exercise, driven to and fro, for forty years at Avignon, for thirty years moving from city to city. All this I know, all of this strengthens what I have asserted—namely, that this sovereignty has received into itself all that the power of the world could do against it, and has survived all assaults, and has again and again, restored itself, in spite of all that human power could do.

And from this may be drawn these three conclusions:—First, that this sovereignty is an extra-national sovereignty. It is not national, it has a nature, entirely exceptional and distinct from all other sovereignties. The Head of the religion of many nations cannot be under the civil sovereignty of any nation. If he were, all other nations save that one would justly stand in an attitude of suspicion and jealousy, knowing that so vast a power over the consciences and souls of men, if it were in any degree biassed, or under the influence of the temporal sovereignty of any nation, might become to all others a dangerous element of domestic strife and of hostile designs. The Providence of God,

therefore, for the unity of the Christian Church, and for the peace of the Christian world, has ordained that the head of the Christian Church, who is the Head of the religion of all nations, should be the subject of no nation, should be, that is, exceptional and extra-national, and, if extra-national, therefore independent, and if independent, Sovereign, for between independence and sovereignty there can be drawn no line. Secondly, that this sovereignty is supernational, that is above all nationalities; it has nothing to do with nationalities as such. If it had nationality in it, nationality would be a stain, and a taint, and a disease. National Churches and national religions were abolished when the national religion of Judaism was extinguished; and the revival of nationalism in churches or in religions under the faith and unity of Jesus Christ is the source of heresy and schism. Lastly, though it is not national, it is international in the highest and purest sense of the word; that is, it inter-penetrates into every nation and it belongs to every nation so that all nations are bound together by it, for all nations have a share in it, because it is the bond of union which passes through the national life of every Catholic people in the world. I will only say in passing, if it is not national, and if it is in this sense universal, it cannot be Italian. We will now take

up what I broke off in the last chapter. My last assertion was this—so long as the Christian world exists, the Head of the Christian Church will be independent of all civil power, and if ever the time shall come when any civil power shall claim him as a subject, and the other powers of the world shall look on, and, even by their silence, countenance that extravagant claim, the political order of the Christian world will be dissolved.

To explain this I will quote again what I have often quoted before, for I hardly know in what words this wide subject could be better condensed than in a passage of a great Spanish writer of our time. Donoso Cortez says in one of his works:—"The history of civilization is the history of Christianity; in writing the one you write the other. The history of Christianity is the history of the Christian Church; the history of the Christian Church is the history of the Pontiffs, for they have been the creators, the legislators, and the sustainers of the Christian world." I believe these propositions may be justified by the most ample and abundant historical proof. I will endeavour to trace, at least, the outline of that proof.

1. And, first, what was the germ of the Christian civilization of which we are a part? It was Christian Rome and what were called the

patrimonies of the Church. Does anyone imagine that the Christian civilization of Europe is the civilization of the Roman Empire? The civilization of the Roman Empire was pagan, corrupt to its roots, prolific in corruption—public, private, social, domestic, personal—to such an extent that Rome did not perish more by the fire and sword of barbarian hordes than by the deadly dissolving virus of its own internal rottenness. The pagan civilization of Rome was entirely swept away, and if it had not died by the law of its own dissolution—for that which is rank and rotten in itself cannot subsist—it would have been swept away by the invasion of horde after horde, race after race of the subject nations over whom the Roman Empire had exercised its iron sway. They came up in the hour of its weakness and wreaked their vengeance upon it. Its civilization was utterly wrecked. But this is not the civilization of which we are the offspring. The Christian civilization was created first of all, and above all, by the Christian faith, by the Christian law, and by the Sacrament of Christian Marriage, by the unity and indissolubility of the domestic life of man, by Christian education, perpetuated with Christian faith, and law, and Christian marriage from generation to generation

This is the root of the Christian civilization of Europe. The authors of this civilization were the Apostles, and, above all, their Head. And where did that Christian civilization first find its maturity? It was found in Rome, where the head of the Christian Church planted his See, in the city which was the Head of the nations of the world. There round about the See of Peter were gathered, as time went on, the extending patrimonies of the Church. The word patrimony was used to show that it was an inheritance, not a kingdom or an empire acquired by conquest, but a gift of God to the Christian family, to be held and handed on as an heirloom.

Between the conversion of Constantine and the time of St. Gregory the Great, or about the year 600, the Roman Pontiffs held twenty-three patrimonies. They possessed Rome and the country round about it; they possessed also many districts of Northern and Central Italy, including Ravenna, parts of the South of Italy, the coasts of the Mediterranean, including Genoa; parts of the South of France, the coasts of the Adriatic, Sardinia, Sicily, and parts of the North of Africa: these portions of the old Roman Empire, abandoned, as Britain was abandoned, fell under the sole tutelage of the Roman Pontiffs, who exercised a civilizing influence, while,

at the same time, they Christianised the populations who inhabited those lands. In this way were gradually laid the seeds of the Christian civilization which spread afterwards throughout Europe. This was the first Christian civilization in existence. I will not attempt even to sketch the subject; but I would only once more recall your thoughts to what must have been the effect upon the state of men of the Sacrament of Christian Marriage, and of the indissoluble bond of the domestic life with all the sanctities and purities founded upon that sacrament of grace; how a whole population, accepting that one law of faith, and holding it sacred, at once rose from the corruptions of paganism to the level of the Christian life. Slavery was steadily abolished; wheresoever the Pontiffs were able they immediately manumitted slaves. And Christian households at once arose among the most outcast populations of the world. It was this leaven in the meal, working from Rome as its centre, that afterwards spread itself throughout Christian Europe.

When this Christian civilization, which already fully existed within the walls of Rome, was spreading through the twenty-three patrimonies of the Church, where was the Christian Europe of to-day? In the time of S. Gregory I., England, which once had been Christian, had become Pagan again. The

Saxons had extinguished our Christianity. Gaul, which had not even the name of France, was rent and torn by perpetual wars of races. Portions of it, indeed, were Christian, but there was no Christian France. Germany was heathen. The Scandinavian races were heathen. Russia had not even a name upon the map; it was a far east unknown, barbarous, and pagan. Prussia, even to the thirteenth century, was heathen. Hungary was heathen till the tenth century. Spain was overrun by Goths, who were partly heathen and partly Arian. Where was Christian Europe then? It had no existence. Marshes, and forests, and paganism, and warfare overspread the face of that which we now call Christian Europe. Nevertheless at that time a ripe and a mature civilization existed in Rome and in the patrimonies of the Church. Perhaps the earliest of all Christian states sprang up in the little commonwealth of Venice. The next was the great Frankish Empire, which was consecrated by S. Leo III., and which in time parted itself asunder into Germany and France. England was recovered by the missionaries sent by S. Gregory the Great, and became Christian England. Spain was recovered from the Arianism of the Goths, and became Christian and Catholic Spain. But all these were subsequent. And from what source came the

influence that wrought this change? Where was the meal and where was the leaven? The whole face of Europe was the unleavened mass. It was the Christian civilisation of the Roman Pontiffs which spread throughout it and created the Christian Europe of to-day.

3. But to go on; it is evident, thirdly, that what they created they sustained. It stands to common sense, that if the Christian faith and the Christian law created the Christian civilization of Europe, they who maintained and spread the Christian faith and the Christian law, with inflexible constancy, I mean the Roman Pontiffs, the head of the Christian Church have sustained that civilization. I will here mention only one fact, which proves that the existence of Christian civilization has been saved by the Roman Pontiffs: and I will, again, quote not our own writers, lest any should suspect the evidence. There is a book, written by a clergyman of the Church of England more than fifty years ago, called "Mahometanism Unveiled." That book, I am sorry to say, is disfigured by what I must call the childish interpretations of prophecy, especially of the Book of Daniel and of the apocalypse, in a controversial sense. Certainly the book itself is a witness beyond suspicion. What does he say? Tracing the rise and career of Maho-

metanism, he points out this undeniable fact, that all the Oriental Churches which fell into heresy, the Nestorian, the Eutychian, the Monothelite, and the Monophysite, and all the Patriarchates in the East, which separated themselves with the Greek schism—that is, Jerusalem, Antioch, in Alexandria and Constantinople—all these Churches were swept and scourged by Mahometanism. Mahometanism came in and conquered, irresistibly, in every place, till, finally, in Constantinople, the Crescent was raised upon S. Sophia, and all the Churches of that Christian city, which had been once filled by the voices of S. John Chrysostom, and S. Basil, and S. Gregory, became mosques of the Mahometan worship. The author says that Mahometanism was the scourge of God upon their superstition. Be it so. I will not enter into the question now. They were both heretical and schismatical, and every one of them being in separation from that which sustains the Christian world—I mean the See of Peter, the Head and Centre of the Christian Church—were, all alike, submerged, and are to this day submerged, by the Mahometan power.

But the same writer goes on to say more than this, and it is to that point I would call special attention. He says, whensoever the Mahometan power, even in the plenitude of its strength, came

into conflict with Catholic Christendom, it was hurled back in defeat.[a] Again and again it strove to enter into Catholic lands; for awhile it penetrated, and, at times, it menaced the entire coasts of the Mediterranean, but it was invariably thrown back as from a rock. And he has the honesty to say, history must acknowledge that the unanimity of the Christian nations was the work of the Popes of Rome. When the Mahometan power threatened Vienna, again and again it was conquered by the Catholic armies. We record these victories every year in an act of thanksgiving. When the Mahometans penetrated into Spain, and, through Spain, even into the heart of France, they were routed and driven back in confusion by the armies of the Catholic unity. They were at last utterly driven from Spain. When the fleets of the Mahometan power, which had harassed all seas, at last concentrated their strength in the Gulf of Lepanto, it was Pius V. who called together

[a] "The threefold warfare carried on by Mahometanism against idolatry, Judaism, and heretical Christianity." . . . . "Heretical Asia was swallowed up as in a moment by the Unitarian deluge, but Catholic Europe, safe under the shadow of her golden candlestick, sustained the Moslem storm uninjured and unmoved." . . . . "It swept, without a pause, along the continent of Africa: laid in ruins its altars, long polluted by the schism of the Donatists, and by the Vandal heretics, and crossed impetuously these confines to overwhelm Arian Spain. But from the adamantine frontier of Catholic Europe it receded as from a rock."—Foster's "Mahometanism Unveiled," vol. i., pp. 84, 85, and vol. ii., p. 248. London, 1829.

the navies of the Christian powers, and, by the final crush of the maritime ascendancy of the Turks, liberated, from that day to this, the whole Catholic world from all terror of the Mahometan name! This is the testimony of a man who has no good will to speak a word in favour of the subject for which I am pleading now.

4. Fourthly, this must be added, that it has been in the city of Rome, and in the sacred sovereignty of Rome, that God in His providence has manifested to the world the true idea of Christian monarchy. The true idea of Christian monarchy is not the absolute power of pagan Cæsars; it is not the Emperor and the Pontifex Maximus in one person; it is not supreme power in all things civil and spiritual in one hand. That was the despotism which had degraded the soul of man before Christianity came with all its liberties. The same despotism has been in part revived again under the form of royal supremacies, which are the faint and feeble imitation of Cæsarism in the attempt to unite again in the hand of one and the same person all power, civil and ecclesiastical. There is one, indeed, who is both Priest and King, but he is at the right hand of God. All priesthood and all royalty belongs to Jesus Christ our Lord; and He has ordained that His priesthood on earth, in all

its supremacy, shall be vested in His Vicar, who personally represents Him. He has ordained also in His Providence that Kings shall bear rule in the natural and civil order: but that the royalty which belongs to the natural and civil order shall be exercised by civil rulers subject to His law. He has invested His Vicar upon earth alone with the reflection of the twofold power which He possesses Himself. He invested him, whom He created to be the Supreme head of His Church, with all spiritual jurisdiction, and in due time with a sovereign power in civil things, so as to make him independent of all civil superiors.

And, therefore, in Rome for a thousand years the Pontiff has been the ruler over the city where he dwells, and the legislator in things that belong to this world. If He committed to him the supreme authority in spiritual things, is it a great thing that He should also commit to him the supreme authority in temporal things? Is the man who is capable of supreme spiritual legislation and judicial power over the whole world incompetent to make laws, or to execute laws, for the lower welfare of this world? The world, in its mind and its judgment, in this is turned upside down. A man that is competent to legislate in civil and temporal things may indeed be incompetent to legislate and to govern in spiritual

things; but any man who has not only the commission, but the adequate knowledge and skill to execute that which is the highest office upon earth—I mean the spiritual office, thereby, as the greater contains the less—is surely competent to legislate also in matters of a lower nature.

The sovereignty wherewith the Vicar of our Lord was clothed was for this purpose, that those two powers might be united in one independent person, in one place, that they might be divided throughout the world in all other places; that throughout the world the civil ruler might be full and perfect in his own sphere, and the spiritual power free and independent of his authority in all spiritual things; that in all things belonging to the faith, the conscience, and the salvation of man, no civil power in the world should have right to cast so much as a shadow over men. Our Divine Lord liberated the souls and the consciences of men from all temporal rulers in all things belonging to faith and to salvation, and thereby limited the exercise of civil power, and drew a circumference round about all temporal dominion beyond which civil rulers should have no sovereignty. He forbade that any civil ruler whatsoever should enter into the domain of spiritual things. These two powers, then, throughout the

world, are divided; and from this division has come the limitation of absolute civil power and the creation of the temperate rule of Christian monarchy. It has curbed also the license which breaks out into rebellion, and has created those fruitful and temperate liberties of which the Church, and the Church alone, is the mother—"The Jerusalem which is above is free, which is our Mother." All the liberties of man, personal, domestic, spiritual, and civil, all flow from one source—the Precious Blood of Jesus Christ; and the Church, therefore, is the Guardian and the Protector of all true freedom.

5. Lastly, the only other point upon which I would touch is this. In every arch there must be a key-stone; and if that key-stone be struck out no arch can stand. In Christian Europe the key-stone has been that power by which it was created, and by which it is sustained. Strike out that key-stone and it would be by miracle alone if the arch could stand. Again and again that key-stone has been struck out for a moment, but the Providence of God has always restored it. And yet never in the history of Christian Europe, since the year 800, has the sovereignty of Rome been violated by force, but throughout the whole of Christian Europe there has been spread a perturbation which has only been

redressed through sanguinary wars. The tranquillity and the order of Europe has never returned until that key-stone has been dropped once more into its place.

I need not go back into mediæval history, I may refer to the time not only of our forefathers, but of men who are living now. In the year 1796 the first Napoleon carried away Pius VI., and in 1809 he carried away Pius VII., and from 1796 to 1815 Europe waded through blood to rescue itself from the disorders of an infidel revolution, and from the miseries of imperial wars, in which millions of men perished. When the flood subsided, and the ancient landmarks reappeared, in that moment the Vicar of Christ was restored to his See.

May God in His mercy avert such a future from Christian Europe now. But I must affirm my profound belief that never will Europe return from the watch and ward of an armed camp in which it is seen to-day, with some ten millions of men ready to destroy each other, until it has recognized the supremacy of the moral order over material power. And in the day in which the supremacy of that moral power is recognised, the Vicar of Jesus Christ will sit once more upon the pacific throne from which he and his predecessors

have created and sustained the Christian civilization of the world.

When Jerusalem was destroyed, and the Christian Church was spread into all the nations of the world, the imperial city of the Gentiles was providentially chosen to be the Jerusalem of the New Law. It was in that new Jerusalem—the shadow upon earth of the Jerusalem above—that the See of Peter was planted, and the See of Peter is the source of all spiritual jurisdiction to govern the Christian nations of the world. From that See of Peter has gone forth in all ages the steadfast light of the immutable truth; in that one See has been preserved without change or diminution the fulness of the Revelation of the Day of Pentecost. It is, therefore, the mother of all Churches; and for that cause it is also the mother of all nations. It was from Rome that S. Augustine came to England, from Rome that S. Patrick went to Ireland, from Rome that S. Methodius went to Slavonia, from Rome that S. Boniface went to Germany. Rome is the mother of all Churches, either by foundation, or if there be in the East Churches founded by other missionaries, all Churches in Catholic unity are daughters by adoption, and Rome is the mother of all. But Rome is the mother, also, of the Christian nations, for it

is the Christian peoples which have created the national unities, and all national civilization has been the offspring of Christianity. It is not the world, or its statesmen, or its philosophers, or its legislators; it is the fishermen of Galilee, and the Christian Faith, and the Christian Church, that have not only converted mankind, but have civilized the world.

Christian Rome itself was the creation of the Bishops of Rome. Men talk as if the City of Rome were the City of the Cæsars? Do they believe that when they walk up and down the Corso, they are walking up and down the street of the Imperial Rome? I hardly think any educated man has so little history as to imagine that the Rome of to-day is the Rome of the Cæsars. The Rome of the Cæsars has again and again been wrecked to the ground. S. Gregory the Great said, after the invasion of the Lombards, "After the men were dead, the walls fell down." There is a Rome threefold deep under the present Rome —Rome upon Rome, Rome destroyed, Rome rebuilt, Rome destroyed again, and rebuilt once more. The Pontiffs may be said to have rebuilt it twice. In the time of Belisarius, Rome was so wrecked, that for eight days there was not a breathing inhabitant in it; the foxes ran

over the Aventine Hill, and the whole of Rome was a desolation. Rome rose again, under the tutelage and fostering care of its Bishops. For there was left no other authority that cared to stir a finger for its rebuilding. Rome has been re-built from its foundation, and surrounded again by walls by the Pontiffs, and by them alone. The basilicas were the work of the Pontiffs. The churches, of which there are more than 300 in Rome, were raised either by the Pontiffs or by the Christian nations of the world. Many nations built each for themselves a church in Rome. Who enriched Rome with all manner of gifts from the East and from the West? The Christian princes and the Christian nations of the world. Rome has been the great treasure-house of Christian piety and devotion. The whole of Christendom has offered up to the service of Almighty God in the chief sanctuary of the world all its most precious gifts in memorial of its fidelity. And round about all these works, which were not raised by an Italian monarchy, nor by an Italian revolution, the Pontiffs created all the institutes of charity, all the homes of learning, all the religious Orders, all the missionary colleges, all the spiritual resources of power and action, whereby in every age Rome has wrought upon the face of the earth for the

salvation and civilization of men. Therefore, let no man lay claim to Rome but the Pontiff and his successors, for no man has a right to that which he has neither created nor made his own either by lawful acquisition, or by gift.

Rome stood and stands to this day as a witness and rebuke to many a Christian Government. If there were on the face of the earth a representative of the commonwealth of Israel, if there were to be found a city in which the inequality of classes hardly existed, where men with the freedom of manhood bore to each other a respectful carriage without either rudeness or servility, it was in the city of Rome. And there were almost no gradations created by the social tradition of class and class; there were, it may be, a few titled families indeed, but the mass of the people were all upon one footing; there were none of the galling inequalities of wealth and poverty, which are at this time the great peril of our English commonwealth. There was one law for the rich and for the poor; the Sovereign was a man who was elected; and there was not a poor peasant's boy born in Rome, nay, born throughout the Catholic unity, who might not be elected to be Vicar of Jesus Christ. There never existed on the face of the earth any approach to

the commonwealth of Israel so near as the sovereignty of Rome. I believe this to be the reason why there is nothing on the face of the earth against which the anti-Christian revolution has a greater animosity, for there is nothing that is in more perfect antagonism to it. More than this, it is a Government which was just in all its exercise. It may ask, in the words of the faithful Judge of Israel, "If I have wronged any man, if I have oppressed any man." (1 Kings xii. 3.) Has it taken a shoe's latchet from any nation on the face of the earth, or from any one of its subjects? Has it acquired a territory by a war of conquest, or by usurpation? Its hands are pure from these things. It has been a peaceful sovereignty, always suffering, always weak, always under the blows and the scorn of the world, subsisting always, not by its military power, but by the Divine Life that is in it, and by the Divine Providence that has encompassed it.

I may therefore sum up the whole argument in these few words: Rome belongs to the Pontiffs because the Providence of God gave that city to them. Rome belongs to all Catholic nations, and it is the head of the whole Catholic world. Rome is their home; and when they are within its walls, they are not in a foreign land. Rome

belongs not to a nation, not to Italy, not to the Italian revolution, but to the whole of Christendom. And it is the duty of Christendom to protect that which is the heirloom of the Christian Church, especially in this time of peril. It will surely end in triumph; but when I know not. We may go to our graves, but those who come after us will see it. Rome belongs also to the Pontiffs because it belongs to our Divine Master. It is the City of the Word Incarnate, pervaded from end to end, throughout the circuit of its walls, with the presence of our Divine Lord in the Mystery of the Holy Eucharist. In those 300 churches, whose doors were open every day, and all day long, there was the witness of the Divine Presence. Whensoever a Catholic set his foot within those walls he felt himself at once within a sanctuary. And when those who were Christian, but, not Catholic (and I have known many such) have entered Rome, they have said to me, "I never yet entered any place that exercised over me so great a fascination, or in which I have felt a sense of such attraction as I have here." It is not hard to say why. Rome was, until the other day, the most Christian city in the world. Therefore all Christian instincts turned to it, and, therefore, all the enmity of the anti-Christian revolution turned against it. It was what our sanctuaries are after

the sacred rites are over; the sweetness of the incense still hangs in the air. There was a fragrance throughout Rome which came from the presence of our Divine Lord, its true Sovereign. Those who had faith to believe it, like Thomas, openly said, "My Lord and my God;" and those who had not faith to interpret it, nevertheless acknowledged their consciousness of a power they could not understand. This, then, is the sovereignty, the violation of which I have to describe hereafter. There was never a sovereignty in the world that was so strong in its right, strong in every human right—by possession, by tradition, by prescription, by the recognition of the world. There was never any sovereignty in the world so strong in Divine right. The Providence of God has declared over and over again in most emphatic and almost audible voices that Rome has been given to the head of the Christian Church, and therefore to Christendom at large. But there was never a sovereignty so weak in armaments and in military power; and, therefore, it has always been, as it was six years ago, the prey of the spoiler.

## III.

### THE VIOLATION OF THE PROVIDENTIAL ORDER OF THE CHRISTIAN WORLD.

I HAVE thus far endeavoured to make clear that the present order of Christendom, whereby the head of the Church on earth has been liberated from all civil sovereignty whatsoever, and has been invested with a civil sovereignty of his own, is an ordinance of God. Some one may ask perhaps "If it be an ordinance of God, how is it that it is now under the power of men?" My answer would be this—Our Divine Lord was delivered into the power of men; and in that hour He declared, "Thou shouldst have no power against me except it were given thee from above;" that is, it was a Divine permission for some end not yet revealed, it was a step ordained in the progress and unfolding of the wisdom and the will of God. So now in His Church.

The subject we have to examine is the violation of that Divine order of the Christian world. Before

we do this it is of absolute necessity that we should recall to mind the conclusions of the last chapter. We have, I think, seen reason enough to believe that by a distinct Divine Providence, and that for the last thousand years, the head of the Church has been free, independent, and sovereign in the city of Rome, and that his independence is the condition and provision made for the free exercise of his spiritual authority. Do not let anybody be misled by the notion that the importance of this sovereignty is to be estimated by revenues, or titles, or possession of any earthly thing. It is a means to an end, and that end is the free exercise of spiritual authority; the sovereignty of the head of the Church is the means to that end. I also showed that this ordinance or Divine provision is sacred, that is consecrated to the Divine Head of the Church; that it has also become a possession confirmed by every human right, by the long prescription and by an actual possession of a thousand years. Every right, therefore, human and Divine, meets in the sovereignty exercised, until the other day, by Pius IX. I further showed that this ordinance of God was not only for the sake of the head of the Church, but of the whole Church; that it was a provision for the liberty, the independence, and the protection of the conscience and of the

faith of all men: and that all nations have a share, a right, and an inheritance in the possession of Christian Rome, where the See of Peter has been providentially founded. Such, then, is the outline of the last chapter.

Our present subject is the violation of that providential order, and, therefore, the violation of those rights, human and Divine. I need not dwell upon the historical fact—it is fresh in memory, and known to every one—that in the year 1870 on the 20th September, an overwhelming army breached the feeble walls of Rome, and took possession of the city. Now, what was the character of that act? If what I have hitherto said be true, and if there be still unrepealed in the great code that rules the world, and on which all legislation is founded, these two chapters—"Thou shalt not steal" and "Cursed be he that removeth his neighbour's landmarks," then, at once, I must declare the seizure of Rome to be an open robbery. And if the stealing of anything consecrated to God has a twofold guilt, if the stealing of a chalice which has been consecrated to Divine worship, be a crime twofold in its guilt as compared with stealing the same weight of silver in any other vessel, then I must declare that act to be a sacrilege. And, further, if to take possession of the right and authority

given by Divine Providence to another, to exclude him from its exercise, and to assume it to ourselves, be an act of usurpation, then I must declare the seizure of Rome to be a sacrilegious usurpation. And, lastly, if all the Christian nations of the world have a share in that inheritance, then I must declare that act to be a high crime against the whole of Christendom. These are legitimate and inevitable conclusions following from what I have before laid down. If any man has the will to deny them, he must deny, and more, he must refute my premises. If they stand, the conclusions cannot be assailed.

I have now to describe that violation. My first point is this. When the Italian monarchy was about to enter Rome it gave royal pledges for the entire preservation and perpetuity of the dignity and independence of the Sovereign Pontiff.

Here are the very words in which those solemn pledges were given. On September the eighth, that is twelve days before this act of violence was done, King Victor Emmanuel wrote in these words to Pius IX.:—"The Government of the King will protect the interest which the whole Catholic world possesses in the entire independence of the Sovereign Pontiff."* We have here a proof of what we have

* Samwer, Recueil des Traités, Tom. v. p. 33.

already seen, namely, that the whole world is acknowledged to have an interest in that independence. "The Government of the King is firm in assuring the guarantees necessary to the spiritual independence of the Holy See, and that the head of Catholicity [which is the express term in the original] shall preserve on the banks of the Tiber a place (or seat) honourable and independent of all human sovereignty."* Here is, in this one passage, the recognition and confirmation of the whole of what I have hitherto said to you. On October 9 a decree was signed in the following terms, by which Rome was annexed to the Italian Kingdom. This decree declares that :—" The Supreme Pontiff preserves the dignity and inviolability and all the personal prerogatives of sovereignty by a law for this purpose which will be sanctioned, and all conditions required to guarantee it, together with its territorial liberties and the free exercise of the authority of the Holy See." In the following year, that is on the 13th of May, 1871, the law on the relations between the Pope and the Italian Government was passed. The first chapter of it runs as follows :—" Prerogatives of the Sovereign Pontiff and the Holy See.—Article 1. The person of the Sovereign Pontiff is sacred and in-

* Recueil des Traités, Vol. v., p. 41.

violable. Article 2. Any attempt against the person of the Sovereign Pontiff and of provocation to commit the same shall be punished with the same penalties as any attempts against the person of the King. The offences and insults publicly committed directly against the person of the Pontiff by speeches or acts, or by the means indicated by the first article of the law concerning the Press, to be punished with the same penalties fixed by the 19th Article of the same law. Article 3. The Italian Government pays to the Sovereign Pontiff within the territory of the kingdom the sovereign honours and pre-eminences accorded to him by Catholic Sovereigns. Article 12. The Sovereign Pontiff may correspond freely with the Episcopate and the whole of the Catholic world without any interference on the part of the Italian Government. Article 13. In the city of Rome and the six suburbicarian bishoprics [that is the sees or dioceses round about the walls of Rome], the seminaries, the academias, the schools, and the other Catholic institutes founded for the education and culture of ecclesiastics, shall continue to depend solely on the Holy See without any interference of the scholastic authorities of the kingdom."* Never

* Recueil des Traités, Vol. v. p. 41-46.

was a sovereignty more utterly mocking offered to any man.

In order to justify this assertion, I will briefly recite the acts of legislation which have taken place since that date.

The first was the entire seizure of all property whatsoever belonging to all ecclesiastical bodies and foundations, excepting only a few that were exempted by name, and these were left, as they are stated here, to be for the *enjoyment* of the Sovereign Pontiff. It does not even say left in his possession: neither the Vatican, nor the Lateran Palace, nor any portion of them are said to belong to him or to be his by possession. He is to have the enjoyment of them, just as I might say to any man, "You may have the enjoyment of my house and garden." But the claim of possession is implicitly reserved in this very act. Next the Government seized property to the value of 800,000,000 Italian lire, or francs. After this came the suppression of all religious Orders. It is sometimes said there is a distinction between the Church and a religious Order; the Church is of Divine foundation; a religious Order is only founded by the Church; human laws cannot abolish the Church, but human laws may abolish a religious Order. Well, I know that English-

men are so entirely accustomed to the history of Henry VIII. that they take it as a matter of course that any government may abolish religious Orders. But a religious Order is a spiritual corporation created by the Church, and cannot be abolished by any authority less than that by which it was created. It is a distinct violation of the spiritual authority of the Holy See to suppress a religious Order; and, therefore, the article that I have quoted, in which the free exercise of the spiritual authority of the Holy See was guaranteed, was violated in that suppression. Four thousand houses of such religious Orders were suppressed, and 50,000 persons—men and women who had spent their whole life in prayer and good works, in the service of their Divine Master, and in the saving of souls—were turned out without the means of subsistence. They were to receive daily a sum equivalent to—I hardly know how to express it by any English coin; and that, so I am told, has never been given; but, if it had been given, it would not have been sufficient for necessary food. The hardship inflicted upon these 50,000 persons was a cruelty, but when that cruelty was inflicted through the suppression of the religious Orders, as they were spiritual bodies, it was both a cruelty and a violation of the express guarantee al-

ready quoted, and a flagrant violation of the spiritual authority of the Holy See. But, further than this, the religious Orders of men contained in themselves those who were the counsellors of the Holy Father, of the Sacred College of Cardinals, and of the congregations and departments by which the Church is administered. The theologians, the canonists, the men whose lives were spent in literary leisure in keeping alive the tradition of sacred learning in the Church were to be found to a great extent in the religious Orders. That act, therefore, has deprived the Holy See and the Head of the Church of the counsellors and officers upon whose labours it depended. It would be like the scattering, I may say, of those who labour in our Civil Service and for the departments of State in this country. Once more, from these religious bodies went forth missionaries into heathen lands. The suppression of these bodies then has at once dried up so many sources of missionary life.

I would ask: Can any man say that this is a mere temporal question, or that the suppression of these bodies falls within the competence of a temporal power? They were created and could be created alone by a spiritual authority, and they were created for a spiritual purpose and for spiritual ends. Even if they had only been stripped of their possessions,

if their houses had been taken, if they had been turned out homeless, that would have been a cruel robbery, yet to suppress those corporations was to touch distinctly a spiritual creation, and so to violate the authority of the Holy See. But, to go further, the next thing was a law to introduce civil marriage. Now, I do not deny that in a country like our own, where, unhappily, men are split and divided in religion, where it is impossible that the religious ceremony of marriage can be one and the same for all, the State has a high interest, and, indeed, is bound, for the protection of society, to ensure that marriages shall be valid, legal, and recognised; and, therefore, I do not for a moment deny that it is necessary in such a country as our own that there should be a law regulating the civil relations of marriage, so as to leave perfect and entire freedom to all as to the religious and sacramental contract. But what is this law in Italy? It is founded upon the assumption that marriage is a civil contract, and that the civil contract must be made before the civil authority before the parties can go before the altar for the benediction of the Church. The Catholic Church teaches that matrimony is a sacrament of our Lord Jesus Christ. That sacramental contract is, indeed, civil in one aspect,

because whatever is done by Christians in a civil commonwealth is done also by them as citizens. But that is a lower aspect altogether. The true aspect of Christian matrimony is that it is a sacramental act; and that the contract creates one of the highest of human obligations. It is an indissoluble contract, which can be dissolved only by death. Such is the true and only faith of the Italian people, a people wholly and altogether Catholic; so that unless here and there be found a handful who of late years have called themselves Protestants or Waldenses, or whatever it be, there is no appreciable number in the population for whose sake civil marriage needs to be introduced. It was done, as I will show you presently, out of the conscious, deliberate, and systematic revolutionary movement, which has passed over the greater part of Europe, and is now extending itself into Italy.

Once more, on these revolutionary changes, followed laws on education. The first act was to abolish the teaching of theology, that is, the higher and scientific knowledge of religion, in all Universities. We are, I am sorry to say, very nearly doing it in our own country; as yet, happily, we still retain chairs of theology, though no one is bound to go to them. But in Italy they are abolished in the heart of a Catholic

country, and in the midst of a Catholic population. The schools of Italy, from the highest to the lowest, are now dechristianized; the education of the Italian people is robbed of its Christian element. We reap as we sow, and if the education of a people be deprived of Christianity, what will the next generation be? We are in the midst of this conflict ourselves in England, and there is no one who is not familiar with the obvious reasons which would make clear at once how great a violation is this of the rights of the Christian Church.

But, still further, if there be anything vital to the spiritual life and authority of the Church, it is the training of the priesthood. In every Christian country the youth are left free, and if they choose to give themselves to become priests for the service of the altar (or in this land of ours to become ministers of religion in any form whatsoever), the law of the land gives them perfect liberty to do so. What is now the law in Italy? Every man, from 17 to his 40th year, is liable to the conscription, and, if called on, is bound to serve; and that not only if he be a layman, but a priest already ordained, and not only a priest, but a bishop already governing a diocese. If priest or bishop be under the prescribed age of 39, he is

bound to serve; that is to say, priests may be taken from the altar, and bishops from their dioceses, and compelled to put on the Italian uniform and to serve in the ranks. Such is the state of the law. We shall not be surprised, therefore, even when we read the words of one who had a great share in passing that law. It will show in what esteem he held the office of a priest. He said—"There is no stuff better to make a soldier than a novice out of a convent, or a seminarist, or a clerk in orders. The statistics of Italy show," he went on to say, "that by the exemptions which are necessary on account of physical imperfections, two-fifths of the male population are excluded from the army. This great population is more than sufficient as a seminary for the priesthood." The scorn and contempt of the priesthood of Jesus Christ expressed in those words is beyond any terms of indignation that I can find.

Next, we come to the laws relating to the Press. We have already seen in the "Law of Guarantees" that any speech insulting to the Sovereign Pontiff is open to the prosecution of the law. Here is the report of a speech made the other day in the Italian Chamber of Deputies, followed by *Benissimo*, or, as we should say, "Loud

cheers." But first I may say that I have carefully examined the debates that have passed since the month of January last in the Italian Chamber; and, if I were to quote here a small portion of that which I have marked, I believe that every man who has a sense of Christian dignity would abhor it. I will, however, give one passage:—One of the foremost members said—"From this our Vatican of 'Monte Cittorio' (the palace seized from the Holy See to be converted into a Parliament House) where is justice, law, and liberty, let us say to the Caliph of the West that, like thy predecessor, S. Peter, 'thou liest, thou liest, thou liest! S. Peter denied his Master; thou hast denied thy country; be thou anathema." * I need hardly give the name of this speaker. Four or five years ago I printed some of his words; they were extravagant blasphemy; and I thought that he was one of a class which, both out of Parliament and in Parliament, has existed among ourselves—men who, every now and then, show a disordered mind when they speak about the Catholic Church. But that is not the fact. This man is a man of cultivation of mind; he is a man of wide, though, I must say, confused and chaotic information. I have read two

* Atti Parlamentari, 18 Genu: 1877, p. 662.

of his speeches, which show me that these words of blasphemous insult are not the outbreak of an idiot, but are the weighed malignity of a man who knows what he says.

We shall now be able to appreciate more fully the subject which called forth the Allocution of the Holy Father the other day. We are aware that there has lately been introduced a law for (as it is called) "The Repression of the Abuses of the Clergy;" and it is upon this law that the appeal of the Holy Father to the whole Christian world has been made. Now, that law was introduced by the Keeper of the Seals; when it was introduced it was referred to a commission; that commission has reported upon it. I will give one or two passages from the text of the law as given in the report. But I must first say that any document more full of a malignant animosity, not only against the Catholic Church and the Holy See, but even against the Christian faith, a document showing more of the spirit of Voltaire, and a more servile imitation of the Falck laws of Germany, I have never read. Nor is this wonderful, for the reporter of that commission is the very man whose words respecting the priesthood of Jesus Christ have been already quoted.

We will judge of that law by the law itself. It

runs thus: "The minister of religion who, abusing the office of his ministry, disturbs the *public conscience* or the *peace of families* shall be punished with imprisonment from four months to two years; and with a fine of a thousand *lire*"—that is forty pounds. Secondly, "The minister of religion who, abusing his ministry by any discourse, spoken or written, in any public meeting, or by writings otherwise published, expressly censures, or by any other public act outrages the institutions and laws of the State, any royal decree, or other *act of the public authority whatsoever*, shall be punished with imprisonment for three months, and a fine of a thousand lire (or forty pounds), if any resistance to Government shall follow such discourse the author shall be punished by imprisonment for two years, and a fine of from two to three thousand lire, (that is to say eighty or one hundred and twenty pounds,) and they who publish or diffuse the said writings or discourses shall be punished with the same penalties."* Now, note this fact. The text of the law introduced by the Government ran as here given. The Commission added to the last clause these words—"*From whatsoever ecclesiastical authority, and from whatsoever place they may emanate;*"† that is to

* "*Relazione della Commissione sopra gli Abusi dei Ministri dei Culti*," *&c. &c.*, Dec. 18, 1876, p. 45. † *Ibid.*

say, however high or exalted. And this reveals that the one person against whom that law was chiefly directed was not the poor parish priest—who is capable, indeed, of stirring the little pool of his own parish, but whose agitation reaches no further —it was directed against the Head of the Universal Church himself, whose words go out to the ends of the world, and who, by one Allocution, has made the whole Christian world to ring with the knowledge of the sacrileges that have been committed in Rome. Against him this persecuting law is evidently directed. But in what a covert way. The "Law of Guarantees" protects his person; he, therefore, cannot be prosecuted; but every man who reprints the Allocution is liable to prosecution. It was a matter of deliberation whether those who published the Allocution should be prosecuted or not. A majority of the Ministers, we were told, were of opinion they ought to be prosecuted, but wiser counsels prevailed. They were restrained from an act that would have stultified themselves. It was, therefore, declared that the mere publication of the text should not expose any publisher to prosecution; but, if he should add a comment, if he should say so much as "I adhere to the matter of this Allocution," he might be at once prosecuted; and I am told, upon authority I cannot doubt, that in

Naples newspapers were sequestrated for simply declaring their adhesion to the matter of this Allocution. Now, see what is the equal justice of this law. If the Catholic editor of a newspaper, in publishing that Allocution, says, "I adhere to it," he may be prosecuted; but there is not a paper in all Italy, from the most cultivated to the most impious (and there are many such), that may not assail, blacken, pervert, denounce, blaspheme the words of the head of the Church, and that with impunity. This has gone on day after day, and week after week, since the publication of the Allocution; from north to south it has been assailed by every form of virulent animosity. No prosecution against those who assail the head of the Christian Church; instant prosecution upon those who, by a single epithet, shall declare that Allocution to be true, just, or necessary.

But who is to determine what is the abuse of the ministry of a priest? A man cannot know what is crooked unless he knows what is straight; a man cannot know what is the abuse unless he knows what is the use of a thing. Then, who, I will ask, knows what is the use of the Christian priesthood? The Keeper of the Seals perhaps, or the Minister of Finance, or the magistrates in the country towns—they are the men to lay down the law as to what is

the duty of a Christian priest. If the Nonconformists of England look calmly on, if their heart does not rise with indignation at this penal law, then, I do not know how they are worthy of their forefathers. The Nonconformists of England would not suffer the civil magistrate to prescribe to them the limits of their ministry; and can they tamely and in silence look on when a law is proposed by which every priest in Catholic Italy—and, alas! because Catholic, it has scant sympathy from Englishmen—is threatened with fine and with imprisonment for abusing his ministry, not in the eyes of his Divine Master, not in the light of his own conscience, not by the laws of the Catholic Church, but by the judgment of a revolutionary Minister or the decision of a magistrate appointed by some revolutionary Government. I cannot but believe that when Englishmen look into this they will turn from it with a feeling of indignation. Let me put an example. Let me suppose that a man who has been a member of a secret revolutionary society—and, as you know, all members of such societies are excommunicate by the law of the Catholic Church—let me suppose such a man to be dying. On his deathbed the priest has done all in his power to induce him to renounce his state of rebellion against the Church; he refuses to do it; the man dies; he

dies without absolution, for the priest cannot give it without sacrilege. If a priest, by the side of a death-bed, were to give absolution to a man who refused to separate himself from a secret society condemned by the Church, that absolution would be null and void in the sight of God, and it would be a sacrilege and a mortal sin in the priest who gave it. Let me suppose that this man, be he the son or the father of a family, dies impenitent and without absolution. This is, perhaps, a disturbing of the peace of families? and who is to be the judge whether the priest has done his duty or not? The magistrate of a country town, or the Minister of a revolutionary Government? Let me take another example. I have read to you the laws by which the property of the Holy See was taken away, by which the Religious Orders were suppressed, by which civil marriage was forced upon a Catholic people, by which Christianity was banished from universities and schools, by which all men, whether priest or bishop, are liable to be required to enter military service, though they are forbidden to sit in the legislature—they are disfranchised on the one hand and compelled to military service on the other—let me suppose any man having in him a just heart and the true instincts of a Catholic openly to say, "I look upon

these laws as unjust; they are violations of the spiritual office of the Church," that man would be liable to prosecution. Englishmen speak openly of the laws of their country; and why can we do so? Because the laws of England are the laws in which the majority of Englishmen agree. Why, then, is this gagging law necessary in Italy? Because a minority is in power who are conscious that they are opposed by a great majority who disapprove their acts. They know, and are afraid, that if men speak openly with their neighbours, the public opinion of Catholic Italy would become so strong and spread so wide as to endanger their power. And this is called *disturbing the public conscience.* The public conscience of Italy is not revolutionary, but Catholic: the true disturbers of the *public* conscience of Italy are the authors of these Italian Falck Laws.

I need give no more examples, if those I have given are not enough. I will only add further, that, in this law, there is a tacit assumption of the supremacy of the civil power over the spiritual, and a complete inversion of the whole providential order of which I have hitherto spoken. By the ordinance of God, the spiritual authority is supreme in judging of its own limits. This law is the assertion that the power of man, and of the civil state,

is to be supreme over the exercise of spiritual offices, and is to determine what is use and what abuse, what is legitimate and what illegitimate, and to sit in Episcopal judgment, as a bishop does over his priests, upon the whole body of the priesthood and Episcopate of Italy.

My belief is that this legislation is not the work of the Italian people. I believe it to be the work of the Italian revolution. And, between the Italian people and the Italian revolution, there is a great gulf fixed. My reason is this—Italy has had this twofold affliction; first, it has been under the dominant influence of the revolution of France; and, second, it has now fallen under the influence of what I must call the revolution of Germany. In 1796, France with all its revolutionary impieties and disorders inundated Italy, annexed the North of Italy to the French Republic; in 1808, France again overran Italy, and occupied Rome with its revolutionary armies. It destroyed the old municipal government of Rome. The Roman State had municipal governments like our own. The great cities in the patrimony of the Church, were almost autonomous—that is, independent, governing themselves as Manchester and Liverpool and the like. They held an allegiance to their Sovereign; but it was an allegiance so light

that they governed their own internal affairs. The whole of that free and local administration, which descended from the Middle Ages, was abolished, and the feeblest and most unstable of all forms of government was introduced—I mean the centralization of the Code Napoléon. From that one fact has come, as I have been assured by some of the most experienced statesmen in Rome, a perpetual discontent among the subjects of the Holy See.

Once more, in 1823, a man, whose name is glorified by the Italian revolution, and a man whose name, I believe, will be written in the annals of Italy in the tears of Italians hereafter, laid the beginning of that revolution which is called "Young Italy," founded upon a denial of Christianity and a rejection of all government except a chimerical republic. We have seen that kings and priests represent the two authorities of the Christian world, and that the anti-Christian revolution of this day is directed specially against both priestly and royal authority. Such was the teaching of Mazzini. He taught Italians to conspire in secret, and to unite in a clandestine society, which was to spread like a network over the whole face of Italy. He taught that the revolution should have these three degrees: first, what he called

education, which signifies, indeed, the perversion of little children in the school; it signifies, also, the propagation of revolutionary doctrines by word and by writing; secondly, insurrection—a guerilla warfare in all parts simultaneously; lastly, a combined rising, or a rebellion to overthrow the established order of Government. This from the year 1823 has been perpetually spreading, and that which we see at this moment in Rome is nothing but the arrival in power of that revolution which has been so long clandestinely working.

If any man will study the history of the pontificate of Pius IX. he will see that he began the first days of his authority by setting free every political prisoner, giving a perfect amnesty; he acted like the Good Shepherd, trusting the flock and calling them to him to inspire in them, if it were possible, confidence and fidelity. The secret revolution thought that they had found their occasion and their leader. They believed that Pius IX. might be induced, by the ambitious vision of extending his rule over Italy, to partake in their movement. They tempted him as Satan tempted his Master in the wilderness—"All these things will I give thee if thou, falling down, wilt adore me." Pius IX. said, "No; I will rule according to the power which the Divine law gives me; I

will lay hand upon no other sovereignty; and I will not make war upon any of my children." From that moment they turned against him, and sought another who would undertake the task. They found him to his undoing. He was the King of Sardinia. From that hour to this there has been in Italy a conflict of three powers. There has been the Church, in the plenitude of its spiritual authority, and in unswerving fidelity to its head; there has been the Italian Monarchy headed by the ancient house of Catholic Savoy; there has been underneath the Throne the anti-Christian revolution mining its base; and, at this moment, the conflict of the revolution is hardly more against Pius IX. than against Victor Emmanuel. What the future will be it is not for me to predict. But I say once more that the work which we see in Italy is not the work of the Italian people; it is the work of the Italian revolution, which openly proclaims itself to be rationalistic. In the discussions to which I have referred, the proposers and the supporters of the persecuting law all openly cast off even the mere mask of religion; and those, a few good men excepted, who opposed the law for political reasons, openly declared themselves to be rationalists—that is to say, both sides alike rejected belief in Christianity.*

* Atti Parlamentari, 9 Maggio, 1877, p. 1930.

I will add further, that as this war against the Holy See is not the work of the Italian people, so neither is it the will of the Italian people. The proof I will give of this assertion is as follows: — The Italian people are twenty-six millions; the revolution has certainly not possessed itself of more than three or four millions at the most; therefore, there remain some two and twenty millions of the Italian people who are still steadfast in their old Christian and Catholic traditions. They have never renounced their fidelity to the faith of their fathers. Moreover, the whole electoral body in Italy does not exceed half a million of men: in twenty-six millions there is not so much as a fiftieth part who possess the electoral franchise. The other day I read in a paper, written with much ability and with too great confidence, that because the last Italian Ministry had manifested a disposition in favour of the Church, the people of Italy had indignantly turned it out, and had put in power those that would express their will. Now, those 500,000 men do not represent the will of Italy. And of those 500,000 men 250,000, that is one half, never go to the poll or record a vote. They are Catholics who for conscience sake have from the beginning refrained from voting. They have never voted at

all; and that upon these grounds: that if they were to vote they would recognise the law, they would accept the constitution, they would be partakers in the present state of Rome, and sanction its usurpation. Moreover, any man whom they might elect could not sit in the Chamber without taking the oath that binds him to the revolution which now holds Italy down, and to the violation of the sovereignty of the head of the Church. Therefore, 250,000 electors are at this time the whole body of men who return the Italian Parliament. Those 250,000 men are but one-half of the electoral body, and less than one-hundredth part of the Italian people. I ask you whether we are to accept any vote of that Chamber as representing the people of Italy? What should we say to such a Parliament in England, or in Canada, or in Australia? An Englishman knows too well what representation is to be for a moment deceived. Moreover, when in 1870 the *plébiscite* or public vote was taken in Rome, it was taken in the presence of an invading army. Such was the freedom of voting. Next it was taken under a prohibition which bound every Catholic to abstain from voting; and, thirdly, it was ascertained that not more than 14,000 of the Roman people voted at all out of the population of 200,000. Add to these 3,000 or 4,000 who were the paid

officials of the Government. I know of nothing which has imposed upon the simplicity and the good will of the English people more than to suppose that the present state of Italy is the expression of the will of the Italian people. They are a divided people without cohesion, without organization, Lombards and Neapolitans, Tuscans and Sardinians, without political education or experience. The army is in the hands of the monarchy, and the monarchy in the hands of the Revolution.

You are not surprised, then, that when Pius IX. was invited to reconcile himself to "progress and modern civilization" he said, "No, it is not for me to reconcile myself to an anti-Christian revolution; I cannot, as head of the Christian Church, reconcile myself to an education which is not Christian, nor to a marriage law which converts a sacrament into a civil contract. I cannot reconcile myself to a progress which has violated the Divine rights of the Holy See, and has usurped upon the providential order of the Christian world." There is one hope for Italy. It is this—that Italy should reconcile itself to the old traditions of the Faith of its fathers, and should return once more to the only principle of unity and authority which created it. *Deus nationes sanabiles*

*fecit super terram*—God has made the nations of the world capable of healing. Italy may be healed of its wounds, and, if it return to its past glories, Italy will be healed of its afflictions. No revolution is capable of being healed except by repentance. A revolution is a rebellion, and this is an anti-Christian rebellion. For Italy there may be days of peace and unity in store; but for the Italian revolution there is no future. It is reserved for the just judgment of God.

## IV.

### THE REVOLT AND ITS NEMESIS.

I HAVE said that nations may be healed, but that revolutions cannot be healed. Nations are the works of the Creator, but revolutions are the works of man, and of man in rebellion against the ordinance of God. Nations may be healed by returning from their momentary aberrations to the first principles of their life and order; but revolutions can never be healed: they are the dissolution of order, and must cease to exist.

The application of these words is clear. The great Christian, Catholic, cultivated, civilized, Italian nation may have a happy future before it; but the revolution which has troubled and stained Italy has no future, it must cease to be. Its deeds are manifest, "going before to judgment," and whether all its agents will be overtaken and visibly chastised it matters not.

No sin goes without its chastisement, and the secret sins of men the judgment of God follows after.

If these words sound severe in the ears of any, let them call to mind what has been laid before them. I have affirmed, and, I hope, have given reason for my affirmation, that God in His Divine Providence has committed to the head of His Church on earth a true and proper sovereignty, in order that he might freely and in peace exercise his supreme spiritual power; next, that that sovereignty was for a thousand years in full and perfect possession, confirmed by every right, human and Divine, by all that can consecrate a sovereignty among men; further, I have proved that those truths and principles which have been shown by the evidence of facts drawn from Christian history were acknowledged, accepted, and proclaimed even by those who now have violated that sovereignty; that in the letter of the King of Italy, in the decree of the Government, and in the acts of the Legislature the title of "Sovereign" was still given to Pius IX., and his dignity and his independence of all civil powers were guaranteed. And all this was done because it was acknowledged to be his right, and that all the Catholic world had a share in the tranquil possession of his freedom and independence. Out of the mouths of those then who have

done this deed I have shown all this; and that not from the chance words of men, but from royal declarations, from authoritative decrees, from legislative acts: these are the confirmation of that which I had affirmed before. I then proceeded to show, point by point, how the acts of the Italian Legislature in the last six years have violated those pledges, engagements, and promises. It now remains for me to point out the consequences which flow from that violation.

It is impossible that the head of the Christian Church can be disturbed from his seat without causing a perturbation throughout the whole Christian world. It never has been otherwise, and, so long as the Christian world exists, it never will be. There is one man on the face of the earth whose words when he speaks reach from sunrise to sunset; there is one man who is the most loved of all men, who is the centre of more hearts than any other among men. That man is the Vicar of Jesus Christ. So also there is one man who is the most hated of all men. No man on the face of the earth has conspiring against him a more ardent and a more concentrated hatred than the head of the Christian Church. The whole crowd of anti-Christian sects, of men that have apostatised from their

faith, that have drowned themselves in the perdition of sin, all of them alike regard with an intense animosity the person who most nearly represents the Divine Lord of all. And I may add that therefore there is no man whose word causes throughout the world so great an agitation. Why is it that this Allocution of Pius IX. has caused such a tremulous fear and such an outcry of hostility, not only throughout Italy, but throughout Germany and throughout France—I am glad to say, for the honour of our country, not throughout England. Englishmen and those who speak through the public voice of our newspapers have recognised what Christian liberty means, and what the independence of the Church of Jesus Christ demands; they have acknowledged to an extent I dared not hope—though not, indeed, to the full of what I could desire—the violations of the rights and the breach of the promises which were solemnly engaged between the Government of Italy and Pius IX. Now, what I have further to shew is the consequence of that act.

I have said that the head of the Christian Church can never be disturbed from his rightful seat without causing perturbation throughout the Christian world. Perhaps you may think that this is either a rhetorical exaggeration or a pious senti-

ment traditional among Catholics. Once more I will prove what I have said out of the mouths of witnesses that cannot be suspected of being biassed in our favour. Take a passage written by a well-known writer on international law of this century, and no true friend to the supremacy of Rome. His words are these: "The spoliations of the Pope are as repugnant to decency as to justice; they wound both the intellect and the heart."* He argues that the Papal States are the common possession of the Christian world, which desires to see its head invested with the attributes that are most venerated by men. The Pope ought to be at Rome, the inviolable Sovereign of his States, put beyond all political controversy and contest, under the safeguard of the morality of the world. In the year 1849, a historical leader of that which is called the Liberal Party, gave expression, in Parliament, to these principles: "I do not believe that the Pope can exercise his spiritual authority if he have not the Temporal Power. The Temporal Power is a European and a political question as well as a local and a religious."† In passing, let me say, if the Governments of Europe now treat it not as a European

* De Pradt. De Congrès de Vienne, tom. ii. p. 46.

† See Preface, p. ix.

question, but as an Italian question, it must either be that, being non-Catholic Governments, their national religions have engendered what I must call a parochial mind, or, being Catholic Governments, they have apostatised from their fidelity. The next witness I will call is an Italian, a name that will be remembered in the history of Italy, one who took part in the revolutionary movement which Italians believed to be the liberation of their country. Massimo Azeglio said: "Italy ought to be accounted happy for possessing many capitals, and the question of Rome as capital is a fantastical idea of visionaries and of rhetoricians. The Eternal City belongs to Italy but on condition of preserving the Pope there. Neither King nor State ought there to set up its seat."

We will go on to see in detail what have been the consequences of the violation of the sovereignty of Pius IX. The consequences have been threefold —first, to Italy itself; secondly, to Europe at large; and thirdly, to the Catholic Church.

First, as to Italy, the effect of it has been this, that the revolution, which, as I said before, came from France, and poured through the Alps, has deluged Italy. It was a revolution which began in the ghastly masquerade of the French infidelity of the last century. It had two principles—a twofold

antagonism, to Thrones and to Altars, to kings and to priests. It was an atheistic and a republican revolution; and that revolution, entering into Italy, received a mitigated form thus far, that it no longer professed atheism, but only deism; that is it is *un*-Christian and *anti*-Christian, but Mazzini still retained the profession of a belief in God. The result was the same; it was an anti-Christian revolution subverting both the Christian Church and the monarchies of Italy.

The direct effect of it has been to break up the political unity of Italy. There are now in conflict a conspiracy, a revolution, and a monarchy. The old governments fell one after another. There is now a monarchy, but under the foundation of that monarchy are moving at this moment the agencies of the same anti-Christian and republican revolution. We have only to look at the noble and Catholic people of France to see what has been the consequence of the revolution of the last century. It has so undermined the foundations of political and social order, that, from 1789 to this day, no stable government of any form—republican, monarchical, or imperial, has been able to endure. The instability of that great people—parcelled out and morselled into six conflicting political parties is a spectacle that must make

every one who loves France, be he of French or of English blood, to mourn. What has happened in France is now happening in Italy; and, unless the Providence of God heal the Italian people, and turn it back upon its old traditions, its future will be what the present of France is now.

But, further, the revolution in Italy began not by working through the principle of its unity—that to which Italy owes all its greatness, that to which, England owes its unity at this hour—it began by a direct conflict, and, the antagonism of incessant war against the first principle of all unity, without which unity cannot exist—I mean the one common faith, the one common authority which reigns over the conscience and the wills of men. The first object of the hostility of the Italian revolution was the Holy See and the head of the Church. Besides this; all nations have their progress, and the progress of a nation is like the growth of a tree, bearing its fruit in due season; if the trunk of the tree be wounded the vigour of the tree is stayed. Anything which crosses the healthy development and growth, be it of a tree or of human society, is fatal to its perfection. This has happened to the progress of Italy. Progress is the development of order; there can be no progress where order has been broken up. If the

structure of the tree be wounded there can be no healthy growth. The revolution has introduced disorder throughout the whole nation, and, therefore, the progress of the nation is stayed.

But besides this, it has broken up, so far as it was possible, even its Catholic and religious unity. I say, so far as was possible, because I thank God that, as yet, the introduction of the laws of civil marriage and of education without Christianity have taken but little root. Nevertheless, in a people wholly united, where there was but one faith, one Church, one common worship—as it were out of the wanton desire to destroy the unity of this supernatural fabric—"liberty" of worship, "liberty" of religious teaching, education without Christianity, and civil marriage were introduced for no other discoverable cause than out of animosity against the order of the Christian world. I have said before that, where a people are divided in religion it is of absolute necessity that the civil laws should conform themselves to and take cognisance of those irreconcileable diversities; but, where a people is absolutely united there exists no reason, and, I will add, there can be no justification for the introduction of such laws. Lastly, the youth and the children of Italy at this moment are being indoctrinated in schools without

religion—and by newspapers which flood the country, by, I am sorry to say, flyleaves, and pamphlets, and engravings, and songs, and ribaldry in every form—with the principles of the revolution, and of animosity against religion, and against the civil order.

How would it have been with England if such a revolution had crossed our progress? England was once divided into many conflicting kingdoms perpetually at war with one another, divided in everything, as to their worldly interests, and united only in one thing, and that was in their faith. Because they were united in one faith, and in the unity of one Church, and in one communion, because they worshipped together, and were of one mind and one will in all things above this world, there was a power of unity and a principle of assimilation which gradually drew the Heptarchy into the one great English monarchy which stands to this day. The principle of unity in England was the Catholic Church; the principle of unity in Italy is the Catholic Church, with the intense focus of its unity, the head of the Church and the Holy See. If there had been in those early times before England grew up into a monarchy, or while it was only forming its unity, a propaganda of division preached up and down by the apostles of anti-

Christian revolution, clamouring in the market-places, and whispering into the ears of men, sowing everywhere principles contrary to the Christian and Catholic order of England, what should we have been at this hour? Should we now be a monarchy and an empire spreading throughout the world? Our progress and our growth would have been fatally wounded at the root, and when the root is wounded the tree withers. And so I must prophesy of the future of Italy. If the revolution, which now coils round about it, shall not be steadily and wisely untwisted from the root, certain it is that the progress, and the unity, and the future of the great Italian people is doomed to disaster.

An Italian of whom Italians are proud, and to whom, some twenty years ago, they erected a public statue in gratitude in the city of Turin, has left this judgment in his writings: he said that modern civilization has committed two great aberrations: the one was to expel the theology of Revelation from the field of science, and the other was to exclude the Catholic clergy from the field of politics. And he added: "Every scientific reform is vain if it do not make chief account of religion, and every scheme of Italian renovation is null if it have not for its base the corner-stone of Catholicism." This was a man

whom Italians, the other day, inscribed in their annals as one of the greatest of their patriots. He went on further to say: "And the evil will last as long as men persist in substituting a heathen or chimerical Italy in the place of a real and a Christian Italy which God and a life of eighteen hundred years has created; that is to say, a French or a German Italy in the place of an Italy of the Italians" *—an Italy, that is, of its old Catholic traditions, an Italy of the Pontiffs who have saved it again and again, and protected its liberty and its independence from all foreign nations —Greeks, Germans, Normans, and Spaniards, and from worse enemies still, its own domestic factions. As then, so now, the unity of its faith alone can redeem it from the anti-Christian revolution which has invaded Rome.

2. But, secondly, what are the consequences of the violation of this rightful sovereignty upon Europe? In the last six weeks we have seen that every civilized country in Europe has been stirred by this Allocution. The newspapers that are opposed to the Holy See, in all countries, have sufficiently manifested their anxiety lest there should arise an agitation. Most assuredly these are indications

* Gioberti, "Primato degli Italiani," vol. ii., pp. 66, 67.

of something which is not transient. The anti-Christian revolution in all countries feels itself ill at ease. Why is it that all Europe is moved by this subject? It is because Christian Europe does not consist of separated and isolated nations. Christian Europe was one fair fabric, in which a family of nations was united together, culminating in the supreme authority of the Chief Pastor of the Christian world; and he was clothed providentially with a Temporal power, which gave him freedom, and enabled him to act as the counsellor, the arbitrator, and the guide of the unity of Christian nations. It was a Christian confederation having a high and supreme authority ruling in the moral order. But this violation of the sovereignty of Rome has cut the bond which bound the family of nations together.

Next, it has broken down also the moral order which governed the nations of Christendom. Europe was a Christian commonwealth; it was bound together by the laws of Faith, by the laws of a common Christianity, and in great part by the laws of Catholic unity. These have been broken, and what was substituted in their place? The laws of diplomacy, and the laws of international compacts. Where, at this day, is the international law which once bound Europe together? The Apostle, in describing the

character of the men of the latter days, says precisely this, They shall be "truce-breakers,"* men who enter into contracts, and treaties, and engagements, and violate them; men who cannot be bound by fidelity or truth. The usurpation of Rome and the acts of the Italian Government are a masterpiece of violation, a sacrilegious breach of express promises, pledges, and engagements, written by a royal hand: and while the ink was not yet dry. This is a supreme example of the sacredness and of the worth of the moral obligations which are supposed to bind the nations of Europe to each other. But we have not to look far, we have not to strain our memory. What has been happening in the last five or six years to the treaties which once bound Europe together and gave us the hope of peace in the East? Is there a treaty, however solemnly engaged in, which has not been violated? Is there, at this moment, a treaty binding nations together in Europe which the contracting nations are ready to execute? For the last years, or even months, the whole book of treaties has been trampled under foot.

The moral order which governed Europe, has been relaxed and weakened until there remains for Europe no other government than the govern-

* 1 Tim. iii. 3, "ἄσπονδοι."

ment of armies, the government that can send into the field millions of men in arms, and can hurl the greatest weight against its antagonist. To this the Christian world has been reduced. But, again, throughout Europe, at this moment, there is a sense that wrong has been done. There are two powers that have been forcing themselves to an almost unendurable strain to multiply and maintain their excessive armaments. Why? Of what are they afraid? I will not enter into this part of the subject further than to answer my question. They have both done evil. The one is afraid of a war of revenge, and the other is afraid of an armed intervention.

The usurpation of the Sovereignty of Rome is morally a rejection of God. Do not suppose that I mean that every man in every nation is consciously guilty of this rejection; neither suppose that I mean that the governments who have done these things have deliberately written down the proposition: "We will not have this man to reign over us." Nevertheless I affirm, that if Christian history be true, Christendom was a creation of Almighty God through the power of Christianity and through faith in His Divine Son; and that this creation had for its Head, and as the chief representative of His Divine Son, the person

who was chosen to be His Vicar upon earth; and that the whole of Catholic Christendom recognised him to be the Chief Arbiter and the Chief Pastor of all Catholic nations; and that even those Christian nations that are separated from the unity of the Catholic Church still regard him—as the English people, when they think calmly, do—as the Chief Bishop, the Head, and the oldest authority of the Christian world. Well, if the world, then, the duration of which counts, as we are wont to write, from the year of our Lord's Incarnation, if it was once a Christian world, and if in that fact be fulfilled the prophecy of the Book Apocalypse, that the kingdom of this world had become the "kingdom of God and of Christ," I would ask whether that which we see now is not the disintegration and the downfall of that Christian world by the deliberate act of an anti-Christian revolution, accomplished by the violence of some, and by the connivance of others, by the silence, at least, whether from fear or from assent, of the nations of Europe.

3. And then, lastly, what has been the effect of these last years, including this violation of the sovereignty of the head of the Church, upon the Catholic Church itself? It is a relief to me to be able to turn and to see on the other side, not the gloomy lowering clouds of which I have been speaking, but the

bright lights which are streaming up the sky, the harbingers of a happier future. The violence of men is over-ruled by the power of God. What was intended for destruction has wrought for our strength and safety. The Catholic Church has been, throughout the whole pontificate of Pius IX., the object of an anti-Christian conspiracy in every country. And there has been since the year 1848 a perpetual development and spread in every place of the rebellion which in that year strove to overturn the thrones of Europe. The King of Piedmont fell, the throne of France fell, Pius IX. was driven out of Rome, the Emperor of Austria hardly kept his seat, the King of Prussia, in like manner, stood only by military force: the whole of Europe was threatened with the overthrow of all civil power; but, finding the civil power too strong, the revolution turned itself upon the Church; and in every country it found its way by stealth into that which has been miscalled by a gentle term, to the deceiving of many, the Liberal Party, and Liberal Government, and Liberal Legislation. This has been, in fact, the covert under which anti-Christian education, the separation of the school from the Church, the separation of the Church from the State, the exclusion of Christianity from science, and the

expulsion of all influence of religion and of the authority of the Church from the acts of legislation have been steadily accomplished. This conflict has been spreading everywhere, not only in Europe, not only in North America, but even in the South.

What has been the effect of all this upon the Church? Never since the Church was founded was it so widespread as it is at this hour. Never since the unity of the Apostles was the church more solid in its unity. Never in the history of the Episcopate were the Bishops of the whole Church so closely united to their Head and so inseparably united to one another. Never in Christian history can we find a time when the priesthood of the Church was so united to their bishops. Never, at any time, in all the records of the Church, can it be found that the people were so united to their pastors. The unity of the Church, without and within, the unity of faith, the unity of fidelity, is greater at this hour than it was ever yet before. The blows of the hammer which were aimed to disintegrate and to destroy have only welded together in a more indissoluble mass the unity of the Catholic Church.

We are, at this moment, described as the great conspiracy, and, as a deputy of the Italian Parliament said the other day, we are "the Black In-

ternational." Whether we are black or not I will not inquire, but that we are international I have affirmed before. The Catholic Church refuses to be a national Church; it is the unity of all nations in the Kingdom of God. National Churches are schisms. We are international because we pervade all nations, and, therefore, the charge is true. We are the International, the only one worthy of the name. But next, I will affirm, without fear, there never was a time when the Church was purer. There have been ages when it cannot be denied that prelates and pastors of the Church were often worldly, secular, covetous, loving honour, and ambitious of obtaining it. There were times when the Episcopate of the Church was, in some countries, national, and, therefore, was often in conflict with the Holy See or coldly attached to it. But persecution has done us these two great benefits—it has so stripped and despoiled the Church everywhere, Head and members, that there is no temptation to greed and to covetousness now. We have no benefices, we have no revenues, we have no domains, and men do not enter the priesthood of Jesus Christ at this day for lands and incomes; neither do they enter into the priesthood for the ambition of rising to the Courts of Kings. More than this, the national spirit has been

exorcised and cast out of the Church. In every nation the Church has been rejected by the civil powers. The Catholic Church has been excluded from political offices, and that act threw it upon its own centre, and every church of every nation in the world became more and more closely united to its Head and to the See from which its Head rules the Catholic unity. Therefore, ambition, secularity, covetousness, and nationalism, four of the deepest diseases that in other ages afflicted the Church, have been expelled by the searching and hostile action of the revolution without, which has restored the health of the Church within.

Once more, in these years the sympathy of the whole Christian world has been drawn to Pius IX. with a filial love and a fervent devotion which, in the whole history of the Pontiffs, I can find nothing to equal. Throughout the world all Catholics cherish in their heart I may say a loyalty for the head of the Church. The person, the countenance, the sorrows, the persecutions, the fortunes, the vicissitudes of Pius IX. are familiar thoughts with them, awakening in their heart the response of affection and of sympathy. Nay, I will go further, and I will ask whether any upright, honourable man who loves Christian liberty, and who believes that Christianity has an authority

of its own, and that it ought to be independent of all worldly masters, whether his sympathy has not been drawn, with a great closeness, to the majestic presence of the Chief Pastor of the world, who has borne upon himself for thirty years the unrelenting brunt of force and fraud. And why has he been so assailed? Because he would not betray his trust. He is the guardian of the liberty and the independence of the Christian world. I believe that there never was a pontiff in history round whom the sympathies of Catholics and of those who, unhappily, are not of our unity —and I would to God they were—have been drawn with such a closeness.

Moreover, the events of this pontificate, rising to the full in the violation of the other day, have revealed to the whole world this divine fact that the Catholic Church is independent of the world. It does not rest upon it; it will not set so much as a foot upon it; it will not lean upon it with one hand; it stands off from it; it stands opposed to it; and it will bear the brunt of all that it can do. But there is one thing it will never do; it will never be dependent upon any earthly power. And, as its universality and its unity have been revealed by the events of the last thirty years, so, I will say, its liberty and independence

have been revealed in a way that no man can deny. We see round about us religious bodies appealing to supreme civil tribunals, going from court to court to contest points of ritual, and even of doctrine. Look at the Catholic Church at this hour. Can the world deliver a judgment the authority of which the Catholic Church would acknowledge even upon the fringe of a vestment?

Some years ago, in order to make the liberty of the Holy See clear to the minds of Englishmen, I appealed to the example of our great martyr, S. Thomas of Canterbury. I affirmed then, what I affirm now, that he laid down his life for the liberty of conscience. I remember appealing to the Free Kirk of Scotland, and to the Nonconformists of England. I then declared to them, what I declare again, that their cause and our cause in this is essentially the same. They believe that the conscience and the faith of men are liberated from all civil authority. So do we. They believe that the channel through which the faith and the conscience of men are to be guided is the written Word of God. We believe that the faith and the conscience of men are guided by the Word of God, written and unwritten, guarded and delivered by the Church of God, guided by the Holy Ghost, the Spirit of Truth. We and they differ as to the

medium or the channel through which the guidance of faith and conscience flows, but we are identical in this principle—that the faith and the conscience of men are liberated from all civil authority. And, therefore, I appeal to them at this moment. If they have the heart in them to be sincere and true to the profession which they have inherited from their fathers, they ought to stand side by side with the Catholics of all countries at this hour, as in times past they went to the prisons of England side by side with our Catholic fathers for the liberty of conscience and of truth.

So much for the consequences of these events; and now a very few words upon the duties which flow from them. First of all, it must be the duty of a Catholic to speak out openly as Pius IX. has spoken. Englishmen, like all honest men, hate half truths; the man who speaks with a bated breath suggests to an Englishman a doubt of his sincerity. As Catholics, speak out kindly, calmly, without offence, but without hesitation, and avow your principles. Next, they who possess any power to influence the actions of the other men, as all have when they decide who shall represent them in the Legislature of this kingdom, will do well to ask, "Will you ever use your influence against that which

is dearer to me than life—I mean the liberty of the Catholic Church?" Once more, Pius IX., despoiled of everything that he possessed, as I have told you, dwells under a roof the "enjoyment" of which is permitted to him, but the possession of which is claimed by another. He lives, at this time, as the Apostles lived, upon the offerings of the faithful. I believe that there are many around us whose hearts secretly feel with us and with Pius IX. in this great cause, who join with us in this act of homage to one whom they venerate. Lastly, our confidence is in prayer. The world despises prayer; it cannot be calculated on the Stock Exchange, and in Parliament it is of little account; but prayer moves an arm that is almighty, and that arm governs the world.

Let us sum up all that has been said. I believe that I have laid before you sufficient evidence that a distinct Providence of God invested the successor of Peter with a proper sovereignty of his own, that his temporal sovereignty is not needed for the existence, or even for the exercise of his spiritual power, but only that he may exercise it in peace. I have also, I think, given you proof that this power and sovereignty has been sacrilegiously violated and usurped. I hope I have given evidence by which we may judge what are the consequences of that

violation. Peace to Christian Europe I do not believe we shall see, except concurrently with the restoration of that providential order of the world.

In the Allocution, the topics of which I have followed, there is one passage of which, as yet, I have said nothing. Pius IX. shall speak in his own words. After recounting all the sorrows, afflictions, and sufferings of his Pontificate, and especially of the last six years, he goes on thus:—"But do not think, Venerable Brethren, that in these hardships and sufferings, our courage is broken, or that we have lost confidence in the decrees of the Eternal and Almighty God. Ever since after the seizure of our territory, We resolved to keep guard at the tomb of blessed Peter over the interests of the Catholic Church, and therefore to stay in Rome rather than to seek a quiet resting-place in other lands, We have not ceased, with God's help, to strive for the advance of his cause; and still We persevere, defending, step by step, against the usurpation of the revolution, the little that remains. When all other help has failed us for the protection of the Church and of religion, We have raised our voice in expostulation, as you who have shared all our dangers and our grief, bear witness, for We have often publicly addressed you, either in condemnation of fresh outrages and in protest against

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the increasing violence of our enemies, or to warn the faithful against the seductions and pretended goodness of the wicked, and against the noxious teaching of false brethren." I remember when the question hanging in the balance was whether Pius IX. should withdraw from Rome on the entrance of a usurping authority, or whether he should abide there firm, in the place where God had put him. I remember the reasons to and fro were many and weighty; but at last the decision was this—I do not pretend to recite the words of Pius IX., but only to interpret his acts:—"Here God has placed me; here I abide. I am here as the Head of the Universal Church; I am here as the centre of the Universal Episcopate. The courage of the bishops throughout the world rests on me; I will give the example. The courage of the faithful also throughout the world rests on me; I will, under God, sustain it. I must support all that is loyal in Rome, all that is good in Italy. All that is faithful, all that is true will look to me for the example of an immutable firmness. Here I abide, that I may set that example to all my children." Events have justified the wisdom of Pius IX.

On the 6th of July, in the year 1809, French soldiers broke into the Quirinal Palace, and

in the great hall of that palace there stood Pius VII. Around him were a few of his household; before him was General Radet, the leader of those troops. For the moment they stood gazing in silence. Afterwards some one asked the leader of that outrage, "Why did you not speak?" He answered: "I felt to be myself as long as I was ascending the stairs, and was in the midst of the Swiss and the soldiers. When I came to stand in the presence of the Vicar of Jesus Christ, my first communion rose up before me." After a while, he recovered his self-control, and said; "Holy Father, by the command of the Emperor, I must call on you either to abdicate your temporal dominion or to go with me to prison." Pius VII. answered: "You have done right to fulfil the command of your master the Emperor, because you have sworn fidelity to him; and I must do my duty which binds me to my master. He has committed to me the Temporal Power of the Holy See as a trust, in behalf of the Universal Church, and resign it we ought not, we will not, we cannot." The violence of the world changes its form, but the voice of the Church never changes.

# APPENDIX I.

## SANCTISSIMI DOMINI NOSTRI PII DIVINA PROVIDENTIA PAPAE IX.

### ALLOCVTIO

*Habita Die xii. Martii MDCCCLXXVII. ad S. R. E. Cardinales in Ædibvs Vaticanis.*

VENERABILES FRATRES,—

LUCTUOSIS exagitati Nostri Pontificatus temporibus pluries vestrum amplissimum ordinem in has aedes advocavimus, ea mente ut gravia mala apud Vos deploraremus quibus Ecclesia indigne affligitur, et contra ea quae sive in Italia sive in aliis regionibus in perniciem Ecclesiae ac Sedis Apostolicae patrata sunt, Nostras protestationes ederemus. Novissimis vero hisce annis novos et violentiores usque impetus atque iniurias spectare debuimus, quas Ecclesia Dei in variis Orbis catholici partibus pertulit ab infensis hostibus, qui opportunam satis occasionem Iesu Christi sponsam

oppugnandi reputaverunt calamitosam conditionem rerum nostrarum, et solitudinem eam in qua Nos omni humana ope destituti versamur. Optassemus quidem hodierna die Venerabiles Fratres menti et cogitationi vestrae proponere immanem hanc lateque diffusam persecutionem, quae in pluribus Europae regionibus contra Ecclesiam saevit, sed habentes in animo acerbam hanc descriptionem alio Vobis tempore exhibere, interim facere non possumus, quin Ecclesiae in hac Italia labores et vexationes in dies asperiores Vobis commemoremus, ac pericula quae quotidie maiora Nobis et huic Apostolicae Sedi impendere conspicimus, aperiamus.

Septimus iam procedit annus, ex quo invasores civilis Nostri Principatus omnibus divinis ac humanis iuribus proculcatis, solemnium pactionum fide violata, et calamitates illustris Nationis catholicae opportunitatem suam reputantes, vi atque armis provincias quae in nostra potestate adhuc erant occuparunt, hanc sanctam civitatem expugnavere, ac tantae iniquitatis opere Ecclesiam universam luctu ac dolore compleverunt. Simulatae atque infidae promissiones, quas iis funestis diebus ipsi super rebus nostris, Guberniis exteris obtulere, declarantes se velle obsequium et honorem reddere libertati Ecclesiae, et liberam ac plenam esse velle Romani Pontificis potestatem, efficere non potue-

runt ut Nos vana spe illecti non penitus praeciperemus animo, quae luctuosa ac misera Nos sub eorum dominatione manerent; quin probe conscii consiliorum impiorum quae propria sunt hominum quos novarum rerum studia et sceleratum foedus consociat, aperte praenunciavimus eam sacrilegam invasionem non tantum spectare ad civilem Nostrum Principatum opprimendum, quantum ad destruendas facilius, temporali nostra dominatione oppressa, institutiones omnes Ecclesiae, ad evertendam Sanctae Sedis auctoritatem, ad vicariam Christi potestatem quam licet immerentes gerimus in terris, omnino labefactandam.

Iamvero hoc opus demolitionis et eversionis omnium rerum quae pertinent ad ecclesiasticum aedificium atque ordinem, si non quoad consilia ac odium persecutorum, quoad gravissimas tamen ruinas quas usque ad hanc diem congesserunt pene consummatum dici potest; ac satis est oculos convertere ad leges et decreta ab initio novae dominationis huc usque edita, ut luculenter perspiciatur Nobis singillatim ac sensim alia ex aliis in dies media et praesidia fuisse sublata, quibus ad catholicam Ecclesiam ut par est regendam et gubernandam omnino indigemus. Enimvero iniquitas quae completa est supprimendis ordinibus religiosis, Nos strenuis ac utilibus adiutoribus damnose spo-

liavit, quorum opera in expediendis ecclesiasticarum Congregationum negotiis, in tot partibus ministerii Nostri exercendis Nobis omnino necessaria est, ac eodem tempore hic in urbe nostra tot domicilia delevit quae religiosos viros ex exteris nationibus excipiebant, qui statis temporibus in hanc metropolim convenire consueverant ad roborandum spiritum, ad rationes de suo ministerio reddendas, atque ab ipsis radicibus crudeliter abscidit tot utiles et feraces plantas, quae fructus benedictionis et pacis in omnes terrae plagas afferebant. Eadem autem suppressionis iniuria quae Collegia perculit pro sacris missionibus in urbe constituta ad dignos operarios efformandos, qui Evangelii lucem in dissitas etiam et inhospitas terras animose proferrent, ea misere subduxit tot populis tam salutare pietatis et caritatis auxilium magno cum detrimento ipsius civilis humanitatis et cultus, qui a Religionis nostrae sanctitate doctrina virtute dimanat. Huiusmodi vero leges per se acerbissimae et non solum Religionis, sed ipsius humanae societatis utilitati perquam adversae, maiorem etiam acerbitatem deinde accepere ex novis ordinationibus rei publicae ministrorum, quibus religiosarum familiarum communi in domo consociationes, et novae admissiones pro regularibus utriusque sexus sub severis sanctionibus prohi-

bentur. Disiectis Ordinibus religiosis Clero saeculari destruendo consilia et opera conversa sunt, ac funesta ea lex lata fuit qua Nos et Pastores italici populi magno cum luctu videre debuimus iuvenes clericos, Ecclesiae spem, a sanctuario nequiter avulsos, et coactos aetate ipsa qua se Deo solemniter consecraturi sunt, saecularis militiae balteum accipere, ac vitae genus perferre, quod ab institutis et a spiritu vocationis eorum longissime abhorret. Quid plura? Subsecutae sunt aliae iniustae leges quibus universum patrimonium, quod Ecclesia sacris diuturnis inviolabilibus titulis possidebat magna ex parte fuit ereptum, substitutis eius loco ac ex parte tantum exiguis reditibus, qui ancipitibus temporum vicibus, et voluntati ac arbitrio publicae potestatis penitus subiiciuntur. Deplorare etiam coacti fuimus magno numero aedificia quae pietas fidelium gravibus admodum sumptibus toleratis erexerat, quae christianis Romae temporibus digna erant, quaeque pacatum hospitium praebebant virginibus Deo devotis aut Regularium familiis, indiscriminatim legitimis possessoribus eiectis occupata fuisse, et in profanos usus destinata. Adempta insuper fuerunt potestati Nostrae, et sacrorum ministrorum curationi, tot pia opera et instituta caritati ac beneficentiae exercendae consecrata, quorum nonnulla egestati aliisque miseriis et

necessitatibus sublevandis mira munificentia ipsi Romani Pontifices Praedecessores Nostri et exterarum gentium pia liberalitas condiderant; ac si qua ex iis publicae caritatis operibus adhuc sub Ecclesiae vigilantia manent, lex quaedam non serius roganda esse fertur, qua illa a Nobis subtrahantur aut funditus aboleantur, veluti publica documenta non dubie nec obscure praenunciant. Vidimus praeterea, idque anima Nostra supra omnem modum dolore perculsa commemoramus, Ecclesiae auctoritati et moderationi subductum publicum ac privatum doctrinarum et artium magisterium, et docendi munus concreditum hominibus suspectae fidei, aut apertis Ecclesiae inimicis et qui non dubitarunt atheismi impietatem publice profiteri.

Occupatis hac ratione et eversis tot religiosis magnique momenti institutionibus, id non satis visum est filiis Ecclesiae desertoribus nisi etiam impedimenta ponerent sanctuarii Ministris ne suumi spirituale ministerium valeant libere exercere; atque huc etiam nefarie perventum est ea lege in aula oratorum legibus ferendis novissime approbata, quae de *Clerici abusibus* inscribitur, cuius vigore crimini et noxae vertuntur Episcopis itemque sacerdotibus, ac gravibus poenarum sanctionibus mulctantur ii actus, quos sub insidioso nomine pertur-

bationis conscientiae quam dicunt publicae, aut pacis familiarum predictae legis auctores complectuntur. Eius porro quam innuimus legis iussu, verba ac scripta omnis generis quibus Religionis administri decreta leges aut alium, quemque publicae auctoritatis actum vel rei sacrae iuribus, vel Dei aut Ecclesiae legibus adversantem, pro sui officii ratione notandum ac improbandum censeant, animadversioni et poenis perinde subiiciuntur, ac opera illorum qui praedicta scripta ediderint aut diffuderint, quocumque ex ordine ecclesiasticae auctoritatis, aut ex loco ipsa manaverint. Ubi haec lex perlata et promulgata fuerit integrum erit laico tribunali iudicium ferre, utrum ac quomodo sacerdos in sacramentis administrandis in divini verbi praedicatione conscientiam publicam et domesticam tranquillitatem perturbaverit, ac episcopalis et sacerdotalis vocis ea erit conditio ut ea comprimatur aut obstruatur, non minus quam vox ipsa Iesu Christi Vicarii, qui quamvis in se ipso nulli animadversioni obnoxius dicatur ob rerum politicarum rationes, in persona tamen eorum qui eius noxae affines fuerint puniendus esse censetur, uti publicus regni administer in conventu legumlatorum palam significare non dubitavit, cum respectu ad Nos habito aperte profiteretur nec novum aut insolitum esse in legibus, nec a iuris criminalis ratione scientia ac

usu absonum, poenis subiici participes criminis, ubi praecipuus auctor puniri non possit. Ex quo intelligitur ad Nos etiam ex dominantium sententia huius legis telum spectare, ita ut ubi nostra verba aut acta in offensionem eius legis incidant, Episcopi aut sacerdotes qui nostros sermones et monita aut evulgarint aut executi fuerint poenas laturi sint eius praetensi criminis, cuius reatum et culpam Nos uti praecipuus auctor sustinere iudicabimur.

En Venerabiles Fratres quemadmodum non solum tot praesidia tot instituta roborata saeculis, invicta tempestatibus, Ecclesiae administrationi necessaria hostili violentia ac demolitione apud Nos eversa sunt, sed eo etiam progressum est, ut sublime illud munus docendi vigilandi animarum saluti prospiciendi quod Ecclesia a suo divino conditore accepit, nefario modo impediatur, severissimis poenis indictis, ad obstruendum os ministrorum eius, qui dum docent populos servare omnia quae Christus mandavit, dum instant opportune importune arguunt obsecrant increpant in omni patientia et doctrina, illud agunt quod divina eis et apostolica auctoritate praecipitur. Alias autem tenebrosas molitiones oppugnatorum Ecclesiae silentio praeterimus, a quibus nonnullorum etiam ex publicis administris consilia et incitamenta non abesse cognoscimus, quae eo spectant ut maiorum tribu-

lationum dies Ecclesiae ipsi adducantur, vel promovendis schismatis occasionibus ubi futuri Pontificis electio inciderit, vel Episcoporum qui Ecclesiis Italiae praesunt spiritualis auctoritatis usu impediendo, cuius rei causa Nos novissime declarare coacti fuimus, tolerari posse ut acta canonicae institutionis eorumdem Episcoporum laicae potestati exhibeantur, ad occurrendum quantum in Nobis est, funestissimis rerum adiunctis, in quibus non amplius agebatur de temporalium bonorum possessione, sed ipsae fidelium conscientiae, earum pax, animarum procuratio et salus, quae suprema Nobis lex est, in apertum discrimen vocabantur. Verum in hoc quod egimus ad gravissima pericula removenda, palam ac iterum agnosci volumus, Nos iniustam eam legem quae *regium placitum* vocatur omnino improbare ac detestari, aperte declarantes per ipsam laedi divinam Ecclesiae auctoritatem, eiusque libertatem violari.

Post haec autem quae hactenus exposuimus, omittentes plura alia, ad quae deploranda sermonem nostrum producere possemus illud petimus, qua ratione fieri possit ut Ecclesiam gubernare valeamus sub dominatione eiusmodi potestatis, quae omnia Nobis media et praesidia ad Apostolatum nostrum exercendum continenter adimit, omnem viam obstruit, nova in dies impedimenta novas

difficultates interponit, novos usque laqueos insidiasque molitur? Profecto Nos satis mirari non possumus eos homines reperiri, quorum nescimus utrum levitas an malitia maior sit, qui sive per publicas ephemerides, sive peculiaribus scriptis sive impudentibus sermonibus plurium occasione conventuum habitis, obtrudere et persuadere populis conantur, praesentem summi Pontificis in urbe conditionem talem esse, ut etiam sub alterius potestatis dominatione constitutus plena libertate fruatur, ac tranquille et plene possit suo supremo spirituali primatu perfungi. Ad quam opinionem publice confirmandam nullam elabi occasionem sinunt sive cum Episcopi et fideles ex exteris plagis ad Nos visendos accedunt, sive cum eorum pios coetus in conspectum nostrum admittimus, sive cum impios ausus contra Ecclesiam Nostris ad eos sermonibus deploramus, quin de industria et callide incautis insinuare studeant, Nos reipsa plena potestate et libertate frui tum loquendi tum excipiendi fideles tum Ecclesiam universam administrandi. Mirum Nobis est quod talia impudenter iactari possint, quasi exercitium illorum actuum qui recensentur plene et omnino esset in nostra potestate, et quasi in iis tota gubernationis Ecclesiae ratio quae ad munus Nostrum pertinet, contineretur. Quis enim nescit non sub Nostra sed sub dominantium po-

testate esse actus eius libertatis quam tantopere extollunt, ita ut eatenus et tamdiu eosdem actus exercere possimus, quatenus et quamdiu hoc ab iis non impediatur? Quae tamen nostrorum actuum libertas quantum sub eorum potestate sit, etsi alia argumenta deessent, satis innuit ac docet novissima ea lex quam nuper deploravimus, qua liberum exercitium spiritualis nostrae potestatis, et ministerii ecclesiastici ordinis nova et intolerabili oppressione constringitur. Quod si nonnullos actus Nos posse exercere permiserint, ea de causa quod agnoscant quantopere eorum intersit Nos sub eorum dominatione liberos existimari, quam multa tamen gravissima pernecessaria summique momenti sunt quae ad formidanda onera ministerii Nostri pertinent, quibus reipsa ac rite perficiendis, Nos dominantium iugo subiecti omni necessaria facultate et libertate caremus? Vellemus quidem illos qui ea quae retulimus scribunt aut loquuntur, oculos suos ad ea quae circa Nos accidunt coniicerent, ac alieno paullisper a partibus animo diiudicarent, utrum vere dici possit Ecclesiae regendae potestatem Nobis divinitus commissam, cum eo statu ad quem Nos adegit invasorum dominatus posse componi. Vellemus eos agnoscere convicia iniurias contumelias quae etiam in aula Oratorum Populi continenter contra humilitatem Nostram effunduntur, convicia

in quibus Nos quidem ignoscimus miseris qui ea promunt, sed tamen in offensionem maximam fidelium cedunt quorum communis Pater violatur, et eo tendunt ut imminuatur apud eos existimatio auctoritas veneratio, quam Vicariatus Christi quem indigni sustinemus, suprema dignitas et sanctitas postulat. Vellemus eos testes esse probrorum et calumniarum quibus tum amplissimus ordo vester, tum sacri Ecclesiae Magistratus omnibus modis impetuntur, tanto cum administrationis eorum detrimento; testes esse irrisus ac ludibrii quo augusti ritus ac institutiones catholicae Ecclesiae dehonestantur, petulantiae qua sanctissima religionis mysteria profanantur, ac conspicere publicis honoris significationibus et pompis decoratam impietatem et atheos homines, dum contra religiosae supplicationes et pompae vetantur, quas avita italorum pietas libere semper celebrare solemnibus temporibus consuevit. Vellemus etiam ipsis notas esse blasphemias, quae impune, auctoritate publica dissimulante, contra Ecclesiam in legumlatorum conventu coniiciuntur, in quo Ecclesiae ipsi subvertendi et aggrediendi criminatio est illata, libertas eius nefarium ac fatale principium vocatum est, doctrinae eius perversae, ac societati et moribus adversantes appellatäe sunt, vis et auctoritas eius tamquam civili consortio perniciosa incusata fuit.

Neque possent iidem confictae nostrae libertatis praecones inficiari tot multiplices continuas graves occasiones in id comparatas ut incauta iuventus inflammatis cupiditatibus corrumpatur, ac ex eius animo catholica fides radicitus extirpetur. Si ipsi demum vias huius urbis, quae per B. Petri cathedram religionis sedes et caput est obirent, iudicare percommode possent utrum templa acatholici cultus his temporibus excitata, scholae corruptionis quaquaversus diffusae, tot domus perditionis passim constituae, obscena et foeda spectacula quae oculis populi offeruntur, talem rerum conditionem faciant, quae tolerabilis sit ei qui pro sui apostolatus officio debet quidem et vellet tot malis occurrere, at contra omnibus mediis et rationibus, omni potestatis exercitio privatur, quo possit vel uni tantum ex tot malis necessaria remedia adhibere, et animabus in exitium ruentibus opem ferre. Hic tandem est Venerabiles Fratres status cui subesse cogimur opera eius Gubernii quod in hac urbe dominatur, haec est illa libertas et potestas exercendi ministerii nostri cuius nomine abutuntur et qua Nos potiri impudenter iactitant: libertas scilicet videndi demolitionem in dies deteriorem ordinis et constitutionis ecclesiasticarum rerum, videndi exitium animarum, quin operam nostram ad tot damna opportune reparanda impendere et navare possimus.

His ita se habentibus nonne nova amarulenta irrisio et ludibrium existimandum est illud quod saepe dicitur, nempe debere Nos conciliationis et concordiae consilia cum novis dominatoribus inire, cum haec conciliationis ratio non aliud ex parte nostra esset, nisi omnino prodere non modo summa Sanctae huius Sedis iura, quae tamquam sacrum et inviolabile depositum ad hanc supremam cathedram evecti custodienda ac tuenda recepimus, sed etiam et praecipue prodere divinum ministerium Nobis pro salute animarum commissum, tradere hereditatem Christi in manus auctoritatis huiusmodi, cuius opera ad ipsum catholicae religionis nomen, si fieri posset, delendum, diriguntur? Nunc profecto terrarum orbi claro in lumine omnique ex parte conspicienda praebetur vis vigor fides earum concessionum, quibus ad fidelium illusionem hostes nostri libertatem et dignitatem Romani Pontificis tueri se velle ostentarunt, quae fundamentum suum positum habent in arbitrio ac hostili voluntate reipublicae moderatorum, quorum in potestate est iuxta sua consilia et rationes, ac pro lubitu eas aptare, servare, interpretari, atque executioni mandare. Haudquaquam certe, haudquaquam Romanus Pontifex est aut erit unquam plenae libertatis compos, ac suae plenae potestatis, donec aliis in urbe sua dominantibus subiiciatur. Alia eius sors Romae

esse non potest nisi aut supremi Principis aut captivi: nec unquam catholicae Ecclesiae universae pax securitas tranquillitas constare poterit, donec exercitium supremi apostolici ministerii obnoxium fuerit studiis partium, arbitrio dominantium, vicibus politicarum electionum, consiliis et operibus hominum callidorum ac utilitatem iustitiae praeferentium.

At in tantis malis queis laboramus et premimur ne putetis Venerabiles Fratres aut animum Nostrum fractum concidere, aut illam in Nobis fiduciam deficere qua Omnipotentis et Aeterni decreta expectamus. Nos quidem consilium cum inissemus post occupationem ditionis Nostrae Romae potius manendi quam quaerendi alienis in terris tranquillum hospitium, idque ea mente ut penes Beati Petri sepulcrum pro re catholica vigiles excubias ageremus, numquam destitimus auxiliante Deo pro causa Eius tuenda certare, et quotidie certamus nullibi loco cedentes hosti nisi vi depulsi, ut perpauca illa quae adhuc reliqua sunt ab impetu diripientium et pervertere omnia conantium vindicemus. Ubi autem caetera Nos defecerunt praesidia quibus Ecclesiae et religionis rationes tueremur, Nos nostrae vocis et nostrarum expostulationum officio usi sumus; cuius rei testes estis ipsi quibus communia pericula communis Nobiscum dolor fuit: saepe

namque verba excepistis publice a Nobis prolata sive ut nova facinora reprobaremus et contra invalescentem hostium violentiam protestaremur, sive ut aptis monitis fideles instrueremus ne insidiis improborum et simulatae religionis specie, neu noxiis falsorum fratrum doctrinis deciperentur. Utinam vocibus Nostris tandem admoveant aures animumque adiiciant illi quorum ad officium pertinet et maxime interest, auctoritatem Nostram sustentare, et causam qua nulla iustior et sanctior, viriliter tueri! Nam qui fieri potest ut illorum prudentiam fugiat, frustra solidam ac veram prosperitatem in nationibus, tranquillitatem ac ordinem in populis, stabilitatem potestatis in iis qui sceptra tenent expectari, si Ecclesiae auctoritas quae societates omnes recte constitutas vinculo religionis continet, impune contemnatur et violetur, eiusque Caput supremum in suo ministerio obeundo plena libertate uti nequeat, et potestatis alterius sit obnoxius arbitrio?

Illud sane feliciter accidisse laetamur, ut voces Nostrae ab universo catholico Populo filiali pietate Nobis obstricto, libentissime magnoque cum fructu exceptae fuerint; talia enim sunt quae ab ipsis accepimus dilectionis assidua et iterata testimonia, ut et ipsis et Ecclesiae summam gloriam conferant, et bene sperare Nos iubeant laetiores dies eidem

Ecclesiae et huic Apostolicae Sedi orituros. Ac profecto vix verbis aequare possumus iucunditatem solatii quod percepimus validis licet auxiliis undique destituti, intuentes egregios animorum motus et generosa studia quae sponte excitata latius in dies propagantur inter gentes etiam remotissimas, ut Romani Pontificatus et humilitatis Nostrae causam suscipiant, dignitatem tueantur. Liberalia subsidia quae ex omni terrarum parte ad Nos perveniunt ut urgentibus necessitatibus Sanctae huius Sedis prospiciamus, et frequentia tot filiorum nostrorum qui ad has Vaticanas aedes ex omni gente confluunt ut visibili Ecclesiae capiti devotam voluntatem suam testentur, eiusmodi pignora animorum fidelium sunt, pro quibus pares agere gratias divinae bonitati omnino nequeamus. Vellemus tamen ab omnibus intelligi, quod salutaris documenti loco esset, intimam vim et significationem veram peregrinationum istarum, quas hoc tempore crebro iterari videmus, quo Romanus Pontificatus teterrimum bellum experitur. Scilicet illae non eo valent tantum ut amorem et observantiam fidelium prodant erga humilitatem Nostram, sed manifestum praebent indicium sollicitudinis et anxietatum quae eorum corda perturbant, quod communis Parens in abnormi prorsus ac incongrua conditione versatur. Neque haec anxietas et sollicitudo conquiescet, imo au-

geatur oportet, donec in possessionem plenae et verae libertatis Pastor universae Ecclesiae restituatur.

Interea nihil magis optamus Venerabiles Fratres quam ut voces Nostrae ex hoc parietum septo ad ultimos terrarum fines manent, ut totius orbis fidelibus pro illustribus quae continenter ipsi exhibent filialis dilectionis et obsequii argumentis, sensus gratissimi animi nostri testentur. Optamus enim iis gratias agere pro pia liberalitate, qua etiam interdum difficultatis rerum suarum obliti Nobis opitulantur, agnoscentes Deo offerri quidquid Ecclesiae tribuitur, gratulari pro magnanimitate et virtute qua impiorum iras et irrisiones despiciunt, Nosque iis devinctos profiteri pro alacritate qua significationes sui amoris Nobis offerre student ad celebrandam anniversariam diei illius memoriam, quo ante quinquaginta annos Episcopalis consecrationis munus, licet indigni suscepimus. Nec minus Nobis in votis est, ut omnes etiam Ecclesiarum quae late per orbem diffusae sunt Pastores, voces has Nostras excipientes ex iis incitamentum sumant, ut significent fidelibus suis pericula, oppugnationes et incommoda quotidie graviora, quibus premimur, eosque simul certiores faciant, Nos quidem nunquam destituros quicumque rerum exitus futurus sit, ab improbandis iniquitatibus quae co-

ram Nobis patrantur; verum fieri posse aliquando cum propter leges nuper rogatas, tum propter alias quae praenunciantur etiam saeviores, ut vox Nostra usque ad eos nonnisi rarius, et aegre admodum per interpositas difficultates possit afferri. In his tamen rerum adiunctis Pastores ipsos excitamus, ut greges suos praemoneant, ne fallacibus capiantur artibus queis homines fraudulenti veram rerum conditionem in qua positi sumus verbis invertere et deformare nituntur, sive celantes acerbitatem eius, sive libertatem Nostram extollentes, et potestatem nostram nemini obnoxiam esse affirmantes, dum vere rem totam sic paucis complecti possumus: scilicet Ecclesiam Dei in Italia vim et persecutionem pati: Christi Vicarium neque libertate, neque expedito plenoque usu suae potestatis frui.

Cum res hoc loco sint, nihil opportunius ducimus, nihil cupimus impensius, quam ut iidem omnes Sacrorum Antistites qui miram concordiam in tuendis Ecclesiae iuribus et egregiam in Apostolicam Sedem voluntatem suam multiplici indicio Nobis constanter probarunt, fideles quibus praesunt excitent, ut ea ratione ac ope quam iura sinunt cuiusque regionis, sedulo agant apud eos qui summam rei publicae tenent, quo accuratius gravis conditio perpendatur in qua Caput catholicae Ecclesiae degit, atque efficacia adhibeantur consilia obstaculis

amoliendis, quae veram ac plenam *independentiam* eius impediunt. Quoniam autem Dei omnipotentis est mentibus lumen immittere et flectere hominum corda, non solum Vos rogamus Venerabiles Fratres ut fervidis apud Eum precibus hoc maxime tempore utamini, sed et ipsos catholicorum omnium populorum Pastores vehementer hortamur, ut fideles sibi concreditos in sacra templa convenire curent, ubi pro Ecclesiae matris salute, pro inimicorum nostrorum conversione, et fine malorum tam gravium lateque patentium humiles preces ex intimo animo effundant. Excipiet ut firmiter confidimus, orationem populi ad se clamantis Deus, cui beneplacitum est super timentes Eum, et in eis qui sperant super misericordia Eius.

Caeterum Venerabiles Fratres confortemur in Domino et in potentia virtutis Eius, atque induti armaturam Dei, loricam iustitiae et scutum fidei, praeliemur strenue ac fortiter adversus potestatem tenebrarum, et nequitiam huius saeculi. Iam certe studium omnia miscendi perturbandique eo devenit, ut torrentis instar omnia se in praeceps tracturum minitetur, nec pauci ex iis qui novarum rerum auctores aut fautores extiterunt respectant conterriti, operis ipsi sui formidantes effectus. At Deus Nobiscum est, eritque usque ad consummationem saeculi. Timendum est iis de quibus scriptum est

"Vidi eos qui operantur iniquitatem et seminant dolores et metunt eos flante Deo periisse, et spiritu irae Eius esse consumptos." At Deum timentibus et certantibus in nomine Ipsius ac in Eius potentia sperantibus misericordia et praesidium reservatum est, neque dubitandum quin cum Eius sit causa, Eius sit pugna, Ipse certantes adiuvet ad victoriam.

# APPENDIX II.

[*Translation.*]

## ALLOCUTION OF HIS HOLINESS POPE PIUS THE NINTH,

*Addressed to the Cardinals in the Consistory of March 12th,* 1877,
ON THE PERSECUTION OF THE HOLY SEE AND OF THE CHURCH IN ITALY.

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VENERABLE BRETHREN,—

We have many times in the sorrowful years of our troubled Pontificate assembled you here around us, to deplore with you the evils by which the Church has been undeservedly afflicted, and to protest against the efforts made in Italy and elsewhere for the ruin of the Church and of the Apostolic See. But in these last years We have had to witness new and more violent attacks and outrages, which the Church of God has suffered in various parts of the Catholic world, from enemies who thought that in our calamitous position, left as We were without human aid, there was a fit opportunity for assailing the Spouse of

Jesus Christ. We should indeed have wished, Venerable Brethren, to describe to you to-day the cruel and widespread persecution to which the Church is subjected in many parts of Europe; but, reserving this description for another time, We will speak to you now of the daily increasing hardships and sufferings of the Church in Italy, and of the dangers with which We and this Apostolic See are more and more threatened.

It is now the seventh year since the usurpers of our Civil Power, trampling under foot every Divine and human right, and in violation of solemn treaties, took advantage of the misfortunes of an illustrious Catholic nation to seize by force of arms what remained of our provinces, and, storming this Holy City, filled the whole Church with sorrow for so great a crime. In spite of the hypocritical and false promises which the usurpers then made to Foreign Governments, declaring that they would respect and honour the liberty of the Church, and give full and perfect freedom to the Roman Pontiff, We did not fail to foresee what would be our condition under their rule. Knowing well the designs of men whom the spirit of revolution and iniquitous ties have bound together, We publicly declared that the object of the sacrilegious invasion was not merely to destroy

our Civil Power; but, by its destruction, to destroy afterwards more easily the institutions of the Church, to subvert the authority of the Holy See, and to overthrow the power which, notwithstanding our unworthiness, We hold as Vicar of Christ on earth.

This destruction and overthrow of whatever belongs to the structure and organisation of the Church may be said to be almost complete; if not to the extent desired by our persecutors, at least so far as to have brought about great ruin: for We have only to look at the laws and decrees that have been made since the beginning of the usurpation, to see clearly that, one by one, and day after day, the means and safeguards which are needed for the proper administration and government of the Church have been withdrawn.

The suppression of Religious Orders has, in fact, deprived us of strenuous and useful fellow-labourers, whose work in carrying on the business of the ecclesiastical Congregations was necessary for many parts of our ministry; it has also closed many houses in which the religious men were received who came here at stated times from foreign countries, to recruit their spiritual strength or to give an account of their office; and it has uprooted many fruitful plants from which blessings and peace were

borne to all parts of the earth. The same act of suppression, affecting the Colleges established in this City for the training of worthy missionaries to carry the light of the Gospel into distant and also barbarous lands, has deprived many peoples of pious and charitable help; and has hindered even the civilisation and culture which result from the teaching and practice of our holy religion. And to these laws, severe in themselves, and adverse to religion and society, still greater severity has been added by the ministerial regulations which, under heavy penalties, forbid Religious to live together in common or to receive new subjects.

After the breaking up of the Religious Orders, the destruction of the Secular Clergy was next attempted; and the law was passed which has caused us and the Pastors of the Italian people to see with grief many young ecclesiastics, who were the hope of the Church, torn from the Sanctuary, and, at the age when they were about to consecrate themselves to God, forced to take up arms, and to lead a life at variance with their training and with the spirit of their sacred calling.

Then came other unjust laws, which seized upon a great part of the patrimony that the Church had long held by sacred and inviolable right; and substituted for it a partial and scanty income, subject

to the eventualities of the times and to the will and caprice of the Government.

We have had also to deplore the seizure of a large number of buildings, erected at great cost by the piety of the faithful, and worthy of the Christian days of Rome, where religious communities or virgins consecrated to God had a happy abode, but which have been taken from their rightful owners and turned to worldly uses.

Again, many pious works and institutions of charity and beneficence, of which some were founded by the munificence of our Predecessors or by the pious liberality of foreign nations, for the relief of poverty and of other miseries and necessities, have been withdrawn from our control and from the management of sacred ministers; and, although a few of these works of public charity are still left under the care of the Church, it is said that a law will soon be proposed either for their suppression or to exclude us from their government.

Moreover, and with great sorrow We speak of it, We have seen both public and private education withdrawn from the authority and direction of the Church; and the office of teacher intrusted to men of doubtful orthodoxy, and even to declared enemies of the Church who had made public profession of atheism.

But the seizure and overthrow of so many important religious institutions, it was thought, would not suffice, unless also the ministers of the sanctuary could be prevented from freely exercising their spiritual office. This is the object of the law lately passed in the Chamber of Deputies, entitled "On the Abuses of the Clergy;" by which all acts that may be brought under the vague term of disturbance of the public conscience, or of the peace of families, are, both in Bishops and in priests, declared criminal and to be severely punished. According to this law, all words and writings of whatsoever kind, by which ministers of religion may feel it their duty to censure or disapprove any decrees, laws, or other acts of the civil power, as being adverse either to sacred authority, or to the laws of God or of the Church, are liable to prosecution and punishment; and so are all persons who publish or circulate any such writings, of whatsoever ecclesiastical rank they may be, or from whatsoever place such writings may be issued. When this law is in force, it will be in the power of a lay tribunal to determine whether and how a priest, in administering the Sacraments or in preaching the word of God, has disturbed the public conscience or the peace of families, and the voice of both Bishops and priests will be

silenced; nay, even the very voice of the Vicar of Jesus Christ, who, although for political reasons he is said not to be personally liable to prosecution, will nevertheless be regarded as punished in the person of his accomplices: and this has been stated in Parliament by one of the ministers, who declared that it was neither new nor unfrequent, nor opposed to the theory or practice of criminal law, to punish accomplices when the author of a crime was beyond reach. From this it is seen that, in the intention of our rulers, the said law strikes at ourself; so that, when our words or acts offend against the law, the Bishops and priests who publish our words or give effect to our injunctions will bear the punishment of the alleged crime, but to us will be attributed its guilt.

Behold, Venerable Brethren, how the safeguards and institutions which had been strengthened by ages and had withstood every storm, and which are necessary for the administration of the Church, have now been overturned; how even the office which the Church has received from her Divine Founder, to teach, and to guard, and to provide for the salvation of souls, is wickedly obstructed; how the mouths of her ministers are closed by threat of heavy punishment: and yet, when they teach their people to observe all things that Christ

has commanded, and are instant in season and out of season, arguing, beseeching, and reproving in all patience and doctrine, they do only that which Divine and Apostolic authority has enjoined. Other secret designs there are against the Church, of which We will not now speak; designs in which the counsels and instigations of certain public officials have not been wanting, and which have for their object to bring days of greater tribulation upon the Church, either by causing a schism at the election of the next Pontiff, or by obstructing the Bishops of Italy in the exercise of their spiritual power. To meet this last difficulty We have lately permitted the acts of canonical institution of Bishops to be presented to the civil authority, in order thereby to provide for a state of things in which there is no longer a question as to the possession of temporalities, but in which the consciences of the faithful, their peace, and the care and salvation of their souls are manifestly in danger. But in doing this for the removal of most grave perils, We wish it to be clearly understood that We disapprove and condemn the unjust law of the *regium placitum*, as it is called, and declare it to be a violation of the Divine authority and liberty of the Church.

After what We have shown, and omitting many

other evils of which We might speak, how, We ask, can We govern the Church under the rule of a power which deprives us of all means and safeguards for the exercise of our Apostolate, which interferes with us in every way, which daily interposes fresh obstacles and difficulties, and tries more and more to put restraint upon us? We cannot understand how there can be men who, in the public papers, in pamphlets, or at public meetings, should endeavour, either thoughtlessly or in malice, to persuade people that the present condition of the Sovereign Pontiff in Rome is such that, though living under another's rule, he enjoys complete liberty, and is able peacefully and fully to discharge the duties of his spiritual primacy. In support of this assertion, when the Bishops or faithful of other countries come to visit us, and We admit them into our presence, and speak to them of the attacks upon the Church, these men neglect no opportunity of insinuating that We have full power and liberty both to receive the faithful and to address them, and to govern the whole Church: as if the exercise of these acts were fully and completely within our power, or as if in these things the whole duty of governing the Church consisted. Who is ignorant that, not in our own power, but under the control of our rulers, are those

very acts of liberty of which they so much boast; and that those acts can be exercised only so far and so long as our rulers permit? What liberty of action We have, and to what extent We are controlled by our rulers, is sufficiently shown, even if there were no other proofs, by the last act of legislation which We have described to you, and in which the free exercise of our spiritual power and ecclesiastical ministry is subjected to a new and intolerable oppression. If they permit us to perform certain acts because it is for their interest that We should be thought to be free under their rule, how many weighty and necessary and most important matters are there, belonging to the grave duties of our ministry, for which, as long as We are subject to them, We have neither liberty nor power? Would that they who speak or write these things would look at what is happening around us; and, judging for a moment impartially, would say whether the duty that God has laid upon us of governing the Church can really be discharged in the condition to which We have been reduced by our invaders. Would that they could hear the reproaches, outrages, and insults that are uttered in Parliament against us; and which, while We pardon the men who utter them, are nevertheless most offensive to the faithful

whose common Father is outraged, and tend to lessen the esteem, authority and veneration, which are due to the holy and high office of Vicar of Christ. Would that they could be witnesses of the insults and calumnies by which the Sacred College and other high dignitaries of the Church are in every way assailed, to the great injury of their authority. Would that they could see how the august rites and institutions of the Catholic Church are derided and ridiculed; the most sacred mysteries of religion profaned; impiety and atheism honoured with public demonstrations and processions, while religious processions, which the good Catholics of Italy have always been accustomed to hold on solemn festivals, are forbidden. Would that they were aware of the blasphemies which, with perfect impunity and without any protest on the part of the authorities, are uttered against the Church in Parliament; where the Church herself is accused as subversive and aggressive,—her liberty called a wicked and fatal principle,—her teaching perverse, and hostile to society and morality,—and her power and authority assailed as hurtful to civil life. Even those who boast of our liberty would be unable to deny the manifold, constant, and grave occasions that are prepared for the demoralisation and corruption of incautious youth, and for uproot-

ing Catholic faith from their minds. And if they walked through the streets of this City which, as being the See of Blessed Peter, is the seat and centre of religion, they could easily judge whether the temples of heretical worship, the schools of error everywhere established, the houses of ill-fame set up in many places, and the obscene and loathsome sights presented to the eyes of the people, constitute a state of things which is tolerable for him whose duty and wish it is, by reason of his Apostolic office, to destroy these many evils, but who is unable to apply a remedy to even one of them, or to help the souls that are perishing. Such, Venerable Brethren, is the condition to which We are reduced by the government that rules in this City; this is the so-called liberty and power which they impudently assert that We enjoy: the liberty, forsooth, of witnessing the gradual destruction of the order and constitution of the Church, and of seeing souls perish, while We are unable in any way to repair these evils.

After all this, is it not mockery to say, as it is often said, that We ought to come to a reconciliation and agreement with our new masters? Such a reconciliation would on our side be a betrayal of the highest rights of the Holy See, which We have received as a sacred and inviolable trust to guard

and to defend; it would, above all, be a betrayal of the sacred ministry which We have received from God for the salvation of souls, and a surrender of the inheritance of Christ into the hands of an authority whose efforts are directed to the destruction, if it were possible, of the very name of the Catholic religion. Now, indeed, the world may clearly see the value and sincerity of the concessions or guarantees by which our enemies pretended to guard the liberty and dignity of the Roman Pontiff: guarantees which rest on no other foundation than the arbitrary and hostile will of a Government in whose power it is to apply them, to interpret them, and to carry them into effect as it may choose, and solely for its own purposes and interests. In no way, certainly, in no way does the Roman Pontiff possess, nor can he ever possess full liberty, or exercise his full authority, as long as he is subject to others ruling in his City. In Rome he must be either a sovereign or a captive; and never will there be peace, security, and tranquillity throughout the Catholic Church, so long as the exercise of the supreme Apostolic ministry is left exposed to the agitation of parties, the arbitrary power of rulers, the vicissitudes of political elections, and the designs and actions of men who prefer their own interest to what is just.

But do not think, Venerable Brethren, that in these hardships and sufferings our courage is broken, or that We have lost confidence in the decrees of the Eternal and Almighty God. Ever since, on the seizure of our territory, We resolved to keep guard at the tomb of Blessed Peter over the interests of the Catholic Church, and therefore to stay in Rome rather than to seek a quiet resting-place in other lands, We have ceased not, with God's help, to strive for the defence of His cause; and still We persevere, defending, step by step, against the usurpation of the Revolution, the little that remains. When all other help has failed us for the protection of the Church and of religion, We have raised our voice in expostulation, as you who have shared our dangers and our grief bear witness; for We have often publicly addressed you, either in condemnation of fresh outrages and in protest against the increasing violence of our enemies, or to warn the faithful against the seductions and pretended goodness of the wicked, and against the noxious teaching of false brethren. Would that those would listen to our words whose duty and interest it is to support our authority, and stoutly to defend a cause than which there is none more just and more holy. How can it escape their notice that in vain will they look for solid and true prosperity

among nations, for tranquillity and order among the people, and for firmness of power in those who hold the sceptre, if the authority of the Church, which unites all rightly formed societies in the bond of religion, is despised and violated with impunity; and if its supreme Head, instead of having full liberty for the exercise of his ministry, is subject to the arbitrary will of another?

We rejoice, indeed, that the whole Catholic people have, with filial piety, so readily and fruitfully received our words. Their earnest and repeated proofs of affection are an honour to themselves and to the Church, and encourage us to hope for more joyful days for the Church and for this Apostolic See. We cannot, in fact, adequately describe our joy and consolation when, having no powerful help on any side, We see, even in distant countries, noble and generous hearts become more and more earnest in taking up our cause and in defending the dignity of the Roman Pontiff. The liberal aid which reaches us from all parts of the world to supply the urgent needs of the Holy See, and the visits of our children of all nations, who come to testify their devotion to the visible Head of the Church, are pledges of affection for which We can never sufficiently thank the Divine goodness. We would wish, however—and it would be

a useful lesson—that all should understand the real value and true significance of the pilgrimages which have been so frequent during the war that has been waged against the Roman Pontificate. They are valuable, not merely as a demonstration of the love and reverence of the faithful for our humble person, but as a proof of the solicitude and anxiety they feel at the abnormal and incongruous condition of their common Father—an anxiety which will not cease, but will go on increasing, until the Pastor of the Universal Church shall be restored to the possession of his full and real liberty.

There is nothing, Venerable Brethren, that We more desire than that our words should go forth from these walls to the ends of the earth, in testimony to all the faithful of our gratitude for their continual proofs of affection and reverence: for We wish to thank them for the pious generosity they have shown in helping us, forgetful at times of their own needs, and remembering that to God is given what is given to the Church; We wish also to congratulate them upon the magnanimity and courage with which they have met the anger and scorn of the wicked; and lastly, We wish to express our gratitude for the alacrity with which they are preparing to offer to us fresh tokens of their love in the celebration of the fiftieth anniversary of our

Episcopal Consecration. No less do We wish that all the Pastors of the Church throughout the world should, on receiving these words, point out to the faithful the dangers, and assaults, and daily increasing troubles to which We are exposed; and should make known to them that, whatever may be the end, We will never cease from denouncing the crimes that are perpetrated before us,—although, by reason of the laws already passed, and of other and severer laws in preparation, it may happen after a time that our words will reach them less frequently and not without much difficulty. Meanwhile We urge all Pastors to see that their flocks are not misled by the crafty artifices of those who endeavour to misrepresent our real condition, either by concealing its gravity, by extolling our liberty, or by affirming that our authority is subject to no one: for, to sum up all in a few words, the Church of God in Italy is suffering violence and persecution, and the Vicar of Christ has neither liberty nor the free and full use of his power.

We therefore think it opportune, and We greatly desire, that the Bishops, who in many ways have constantly shown their union in the defence of the rights of the Church, and their devotedness to this Apostolic See, should call upon the faithful under

their jurisdiction to make every effort, as far as the laws of each country may permit, to induce their Governments not only to examine carefully the serious condition of the Head of the Catholic Church, but also to take such measures as may insure the removal of the obstacles which restrict his true and perfect *independence*. But as Almighty God alone can enlighten the minds and move the hearts of men, We beseech you, Venerable Brethren, to pray to Him fervently at this time; and we earnestly exhort the Pastors of all Catholic peoples to assemble the faithful in the sacred temples, there to pray humbly and fervently for the safety of the Church, for the conversion of our enemies, and for the cessation of such great and wide-spread evils. And God, Who is well pleased with those who fear Him and hope in His mercy, will, We firmly believe, hear the prayer of His people when they cry to Him.

Let us, Venerable Brethren, be strengthened in the Lord and in the might of His power; and putting on the armour of God, the breast-plate of justice, and the shield of faith, let us fight strenuously and bravely against the power of darkness and the wickedness of this world. Already the spirit of disturbance and disorder threatens, like a torrent, to carry everything before it; and not a few

the authors or promoters of the Revolution look back with terror on the effects of their work. God is with us, and will be with us till the end of the world. Let those fear of whom it is written:* "I have seen those who work iniquity, and sow sorrows and reap them, perishing by the blast of God, and consumed by the spirit of His wrath." But the mercy and the help of God are with those who fear Him, and who fight in His name, and hope in His power; and it is not to be doubted that, when the cause is His and the battle is His, He will lead the combatants to victory.

* Job iv. 8, 9.

# LETTER ADDRESSED TO THE APOSTOLIC NUNCIOS

*By* CARDINAL SIMEONI, *Secretary of State to His Holiness,*
ON THE ACTION OF THE ITALIAN GOVERNMENT WITH RESPECT TO THE ALLOCUTION OF MARCH 12TH, 1877.

MY LORD,—

You will not fail to notice the Circular on the late Allocution of the Holy Father, addressed by the Keeper of the Seals to the Procurators-General of the Courts of Appeal, and published yesterday by the Ministerial press in Rome. In that Circular it is ordered that journals shall not be sequestered for publishing the said Pontifical document, if in so doing they abstain from all expressions of approval: and this order is represented as a convincing proof of the liberty secured to the Sovereign Pontiff in the exercise of his ministry, inasmuch as, so states the Minister above named, the Allocution has gone beyond every limit that could have been foreseen, and has given fresh evidence of the ingratitude of His Holiness towards a Government which has been so liberal and so generous to the Church.

The truth is, that, if any further proof were wanting of the sad state of things which the Allocution describes, it would be found manifestly in the Circular of which I speak: for, from the moment when the publication of the Pontiff's words is subjected to the will of any Keeper of the Seals whatsoever, his liberty of speech becomes, and can be only, an illusion. The Minister himself to-day tells us that, notwithstanding the motives which he would have had for rigorously enforcing the laws, he has wished rather to forbear; but to-morrow the same Minister, or his successor, instead of yielding to these pretended feelings of forbearance, might with equal reason become a severe enforcer of laws that can be easily applied: and, for want of other motives, he might have recourse to the usual and groundless pretext which is put forward in the Circular,—namely, that the Roman Pontiff has passed beyond the limits of what is spiritual into the region of politics.

Such a pretext, I say, is, now especially, groundless. Whoever has read the Allocution of March 12th must have seen that the statement of facts therein contained relates entirely to religious interests, and above all to a vindication of full and real independence in the exercise of the Apostolic ministry. The wounds inflicted on the Church,

against which His Holiness protests and has never failed to protest, are—whatever the author of the Circular may say—the lamentable effects of a policy that has entered upon a region which does not belong to it; but this is no reason for saying that the limits of his proper sphere have been transgressed by him whose right and obligation it is to protest until reparation be made.

The nature, however, of the liberty generously granted to the Sovereign Pontiff is still further shown in the Circular. It is a liberty which permits all papers hostile to the Church to assail in every way the Holy Father's words, by insult, by blasphemy, and even by falsifying their sense; but which, at the same time, forbids all Catholic papers to give any confirmation of the facts of which His Holiness complains, or to show any respect for the voice, the counsels or the teaching, of the august Head of the Church: a prohibition of which several Catholic journals of the provinces have already experienced the effect, by being sequestered for no other reason than that they had expressed their admiration of the Allocution. As to the Clergy in particular, the liberty which is announced to them is expressed with new and more stringent menaces, so that, if the ministers of religion, in obedience to the voice of their High Priest, preach his doctrines

and exhort the people to observe them, they will find themselves confronted by a law which will pronounce that this is an intolerable abuse, punishable with imprisonment and heavy fines. And it is in the presence of such enactments that people are asked to believe in the absolute independence of the Sovereign Pontiff, and to set value on the concessions which, it is pretended, have been made to the Catholic Church by the Italian Parliament. The Keeper of the Seals appeals to the good sense of the public; but, in truth, with but little confidence: for, by his permitting only attack and forbidding all defence, his appeal becomes a mockery.

The mere fact that a Minister, after reading a discourse pronounced by the most august Authority upon earth, should pass over the injuries of which that Authority has declared itself the victim,—and, summoning the Authority, so to speak, before him, should endeavour with captious words to accuse it of violence and of incitement to revolt; and should go so far even as to reproach it with ingratitude for having uttered complaints instead of expressing thankfulness: this fact alone, I say, would suffice to show what confidence can be placed in the frequent declarations that have been made of respect and reverence for the spiritual jurisdiction of the Head of the Church. The con-

science of Catholics, it may be truly said, will not fail to estimate such boldness as it deserves, and especially to see where the alleged ingratitude is to be found: whether in him who has ever loved Italy and sought its welfare, and who even now is its support, its splendour, and its brightest ornament; or in him whose endeavour is to root up from our country its greatest glories—which are those of the Papacy—and to fill the soul of our august Pontiff with bitterness and sorrow.

Your Lordship will not fail to call the attention of the Minister for Foreign Affairs, of the Government to which you are accredited, to the language of the Keeper of the Seals, and to the reflections to which that language gives rise: and you will especially invite him to consider that,—while there is just ground of complaint for the Catholics of Italy, who, in spite of the oppression they suffer, and notwithstanding certain notorious *plebiscites* mentioned in the Circular, have shown spontaneously, in many ways, and on all possible occasions, their adherence to the Sovereign Pontiff,—the Catholics also of other nations have no less reason of complaint; and that, therefore, it is for the interest of the respective Governments to give their serious attention to this condition of things, in accordance with the advice offered by the Holy

Father in the late Allocution. This also, as you will explain, is of still greater importance, because, by referring to the present diplomatic relations of Italy, the significance of which is purposely exaggerated, an attempt is made to throw upon Foreign Governments a part of the responsibility for the evils which the Sovereign Pontiff has described; and because, moreover, when the Holy Father, unable in his present position rightly to govern the Church, calls upon the faithful to bring these matters before their Governments, he expressly wishes—a point on which the Keeper of the Seals has artfully been silent—that their action should be in conformity with the laws of their respective countries.

Authorising you to leave a copy of this Despatch with the Minister for Foreign Affairs if he should desire it,

I remain, etc.

ROME, *March 21st*, 1877.

*From* "DÖLLINGER'S HISTORY OF THE CHURCH."

(Vol. iii. pp. 117—119.)

"On the following festival of Christmas, the Pope crowned Charles as Roman Emperor, amidst the acclamations of the people, whilst he knelt before the altar of St. Peter, and anointed him and his son Pepin. Thus, after an interval of three hundred and twenty-five years, was the dignity of Roman emperor renewed; not transferred from the Greeks to the Franks; for the Byzantine emperors were still acknowledged as such by the popes and by the emperors of the west. But the empire of Constantinople, which had oftentimes been the prey of a fortunate adventurer or rude soldier, which had oppressed and persecuted rather than defended the Church, possessed now no more authority in the west. The Greeks themselves had long looked upon the Italian provinces, not as component parts of the empire, but as foreign conquered lands. By their perfect inability to guard them and protect them

against the attacks of the Lombards, they had forfeited their claims to these provinces; and over Rome and the Roman dukedom, the sovereignty of the popes had been established during the course of the eighth century. The popes had recognised the superiority of the Greek emperors only by the insertion of their names and the years of their reign in public records, and by the coining of money bearing their effigies—a practice which had been observed also by the kings of the Franks. Now, therefore, Charles was raised above all the princes and kings of the west; his rank was no longer inferior but equal to that of the emperor of Constantinople; he, who as a patrician, had hitherto been the guardian of the Church of Rome, was now, as emperor, the protector and advocate of the entire Church; and as this was destined by its founder to be extended to all mankind, there was comprised in his power, not only the idea of a pre-eminence above all other princes, but the empire of the world (imperium mundi), in virtue of which it was his duty to promote the propagation of Christianity even amongst barbarous infidel nations, and to provide in general for the welfare of the Christian Church. The imperial supremacy was naturally extended over the States of the Church, but without any trespass on the authority

of the pontiff. The pope continued to be what he had been, lord of Rome, and of the dukedom, and chief of the exarchate. But recent events had proved that, in the troubled state of those countries, and in the unceasing conflicts of powerful parties, the temporal power of the pope could not stand, and that the personal safety of the pontiff called for the assistance of a powerful arm. For this end was instituted the rank of patrician; and if Charles as patrician could exercise his power of guardian in Rome, and its surrounding territory, to his former was now added the imperial dignity, by which Rome was subjected to his imperium. But the pope was not, therefore, a subject of the emperor; the Romans, indeed, swore to him an oath of fidelity, that he might continue to possess his advocacy and the jurisdiction connected with it; but they pledged themselves with an express reservation of the fidelity due by them to the Roman Pontiff, their sovereign. Neither is it to be supposed that the pope, before independent and free, wished to give to himself and his successors a lord and master, by this restoration of the imperial dignity. Both, however, the pope and the emperor, entered into a state of mutual dependence; each swore to the other an oath of fidelity, that is, of reverence and respect: the emperor acquired his dignity only

by the coronation and anointing performed by the pope; whilst the pope, who now stood in need of the assistance of the emperor, as he had before of the patrician, was, as a temporal prince, under the universal imperial dominion, and could not ascend to his high rank without the consent and approbation of the emperor."

THE END.

BRADBURY, AGNEW, & CO., PRINTERS, WHITEFRIARS, LONDON.

Digitized with financial assistance from the
Government of Maharashtra
on 18 July, 2018